

























Abraham Lincoln

*Photogravure from the Original Painting from Life  
by Frank B. Carpenter in 1864.*



Monograph Copy  
The life and works of



Edited by

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extra illustrated with letters,  
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by  
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## The Loss of Lincoln<sup>1</sup>

**A**ND Moses went up from the plains of Moab, unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho; and the Lord showed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar. And the Lord said unto him, this is the land which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither. So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord — *Deut. xxxiv. 1-5*.

There is no historic figure more noble than that of the Jewish lawgiver. After so many thousand years, the figure of Moses is not diminished, but stands up against the background of early days, distinct and individual as if he had lived but yesterday. There is scarcely another event in history more touching than his death. He had borne the great burdens of States for

<sup>1</sup> A sermon delivered April 23, 1865.

forty years, shaped the Jews to a nation, filled out their civil and religious polity, administered their laws, guided their steps, or dwelt with them in all their journeyings in the wilderness; had mourned in their punishments, kept step with their march, and led them in wars, until the end of their labors drew nigh. The last stage was reached. Jordan only lay between them and the promised land. The promised land! Oh, what yearnings had heaved his breast for that divinely promised place! He had dreamed of it by night; and mused by day. It was holy and endeared as God's favored spot. It was to be the cradle of an illustrious history. All his long, laborious, and now weary life, he had aimed at this as the consummation of every desire the reward of every toil and pain. Then came the word of the Lord to him, "Thou mayest not go over. Get thee up into the mountain, look upon it, and die."

From that silent summit, the hoary leader gazed to the north, to the south, to the west, with hungry eyes. The dim outlines rose up. The hazy recesses spoke of quiet valleys between the hills. With eager longing, with sad resignation, he looked upon the promised land. It was now to him a forbidden land. It was a moment's anguish. He forgot all his personal wants, and drank in the vision of his people's

home. His work was done. There lay God's promise fulfilled. There was the seat of coming Jerusalem; there the city of Judah's King; the sphere of judges and prophets; the mount of sorrow and salvation; the nest whence were to fly blessings innumerable to all mankind. Joy chased sadness from every feature, and the prophet laid him down and died.

Again a great leader of the people has passed through toil, sorrow, battle, and war, and come near to the promised land of peace, into which he might not pass over. Who shall recount our martyr's sufferings for this people? Since the November of 1860, his horizon has been black with storms. By day and by night, he trod a way of danger and darkness. On his shoulders rested a government dearer to him than his own life. At its integrity millions of men were striking at home. Upon this government foreign eyes lowered. It stood like a lone island in a sea full of storms; and every tide and wave seemed eager to devour it. Upon thousands of hearts great sorrows and anxieties have rested, but not on one such, and in such measure, as upon that simple, truthful, noble soul, our faithful and sainted Lincoln. Never rising to the enthusiasm of more impassioned natures in hours of hope, and never sinking with the mercurial in hours of defeat to the depths of de-

spondency, he held out with unmovable patience and fortitude, putting caution against hope, that it might not be premature, and hope against caution, that it might not yield to dread and danger. He wrestled ceaselessly, through four black and dreadful purgatorial years, wherein God was cleansing the sin of his people as by fire.

At last, the watcher beheld the gray dawn for the country. The mountains began to give forth their forms from out the darkness; and the East came rushing towards us with arms full of joy for all our sorrows. Then it was for him to be glad exceedingly, that had sorrowed immeasurably. Peace could bring to no other heart such joy, such rest, such honor, such trust, such gratitude. But he looked upon it as Moses looked upon the promised land. Then the wail of a nation proclaimed that he had gone from among us. Not thine the sorrow, but ours, sainted soul. Thou hast indeed entered the promised land, while we are yet on the march. To us remains the rocking of the deep, the storm upon the land, days of duty and nights of watching; but thou art sphered high above all darkness and fear, beyond all sorrow and weariness. Rest, oh weary heart! Rejoice exceedingly, thou that hast enough suffered! Thou hast beheld Him who invisibly led thee in this great wilderness.

Thou standest among the elect. Around thee are the royal men that have ennobled human life in every age. Kingly art thou, with glory on thy brow as a diadem. And joy is upon thee for ever more. Over all this land, over all the little cloud of years that now from thine infinite horizon moves back as a speck, thou art lifted up as high as the star is above the clouds that hide us, but never reach it. In the goodly company of Mount Zion thou shalt find that rest which thou hast sorrowing sought in vain; and thy name, an everlasting name in heaven, shall flourish in fragrance and beauty as long as men shall last upon the earth, or hearts remain, to revere truth, fidelity, and goodness.

Never did two such orbs of experience meet in one hemisphere, as the joy and the sorrow of the same week in this land. The joy was as sudden as if no man had expected it, and as entrancing as if it had fallen a sphere from heaven. It rose up over sobriety, and swept business from its moorings, and ran down through the land in irresistible course. Men embraced each other in brotherhood that were strangers in the flesh. They sang, or prayed, or, deeper yet, many could only think thanksgiving and weep gladness. That peace was sure; that government was firmer than ever; that the land was cleansed of plague; that the



ages were opening to our footsteps, and we were to begin a march of blessing; that blood was staunched, and scowling enmities were sinking like storms beneath the horizon; that the dear fatherland, nothing lost, much gained, was to rise up in unexampled honor among the nations of the earth—these thoughts, and that undistinguishable throng of fancies, and hopes, and desires, and yearnings, that filled the soul with tremblings like the heated air of midsummer days—all these kindled up such a surge of joy as no words may describe.

In one hour joy lay without a pulse, without a gleam, or breath. A sorrow came that swept through the land as huge storms sweep through the forest and field, rolling thunder along the sky, disheveling the flowers, daunting every singer in thicket or forest, and pouring blackness and darkness across the land and up the mountains. Did ever so many hearts, in so brief a time, touch two such boundless feelings? It was the uttermost of joy; it was the uttermost of sorrows—noon and midnight, without a space between.

The blow brought not a sharp pang. It was so terrible that at first it stunned sensibility. Citizens were like men awakened at midnight by an earthquake, and bewildered to find everything that they were accustomed to trust waver-

ing and falling. The very earth was no longer solid. The first feeling was the least. Men waited to get straight to feel. They wandered in the streets as if groping after some impending dread, or undeveloped sorrow, or some one to tell them what ailed them. They met each other as if each would ask the other, "Am I awake or do I dream?" There was a piteous helplessness. Strong men bowed down and wept. Other and common griefs belonged to some one in chief: this belonged to all. It was each and every man's. Every virtuous household in the land felt as if its first-born were gone. Men were bereaved and walked for days as if a corpse lay unburied in their dwellings. There was nothing else to think of. They could speak of nothing but that; and yet, of that they could speak only falteringly. All business was laid aside. Pleasure forgot to smile. The city for nearly a week ceased to roar. The great Leviathan lay down, and was still. Even avarice stood still, and greed was strangely moved to generous sympathy and universal sorrow. Rear to his name monuments, found charitable institutions, and write his name above their lintels; but no monument will ever equal the universal, spontaneous, and sublime sorrow that in a moment swept down lines and parties, and covered up animosities, and in an hour brought a

divided people into unity of grief and indivisible fellowship of anguish.

For myself, I cannot yet command that quietness of spirit needed for a just and temperate delineation of a man whom goodness has made great. Leaving that, if it please God, to some other occasion, I pass to some considerations, aside from the martyr President's character, which may be fit for this hour's instruction.

Let us not mourn that his departure was so sudden, nor fill our imagination with horror at its method. Men, long eluding and evading sorrow, when at last they are overtaken by it, seem enchanted, and seek to make their sorrow sorrowful to the very uttermost, and to bring out every drop of suffering which they possibly can. This is not Christian, though it may be natural. When good men pray for deliverance from sudden death, it is only that they may not be plunged without preparation, all disrobed, into the presence of their Judge.

When one is ready to depart, suddenness of death is a blessing. It is a painful sight to see a tree overthrown by a tornado, wrenched from its foundations, and broken down like a weed; but it is yet more painful to see a vast and venerable tree lingering with vain strife against decay, which age and infirmity have marked for destruction. The process by which strength

wastes, and the mind is obscured, and the tabernacle is taken down, is humiliating and painful; and it is good and grand when a man departs to his rest from out of the midst of duty, full-armed and strong, with pulse beating time. For such an one to go suddenly, if he be prepared to go, is but to terminate a most noble life in its most noble manner. Mark the words of the Master.

Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning; and ye yourselves like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding; that when he cometh and knocketh they may open unto him immediately. Blessed are those servants whom the lord when he cometh shall find watching.

Not that they go in a stupor, but they that go with all their powers about them, and wide-awake, to meet their Master, as to a wedding, are blessed. He died watching. He died with his armor on. In the midst of hours of labors, in the very heart of patriotic consultations, just returned from camps and councils, he was stricken down. No fever dried his blood. No slow waste consumed him. All at once, in full strength and manhood, with his girdle tight about him, he departed, and walks with God.

Nor was the manner of his death more shocking, if we divest it of the malignity of the

motives which caused it. The mere instrument itself is not one that we should shrink from contemplating. Have not thousands of soldiers fallen on the field of battle by the bullets of the enemy? Is being killed in battle counted to be a dreadful mode of dying? It was as if he had died in battle. Do not all soldiers that must fall ask to depart in the hour of battle and victory? He went in the hour of victory.

There has not been a poor drummer-boy in all this war that has fallen for whom the great heart of Lincoln would not have bled; there has not been one private soldier, without note or name, slain among thousands, and hid in the pit among hundreds, without even the memorial of a separate burial, for whom the President would not have wept. He was a man from the common people that never forgot his kind. And now that he who might not bear the march, and toil, and battles with these humble citizens has been called to die by the bullet, as they were, do you not feel that there was a peculiar fitness to his nature and life, that he should in death be joined with them, in a final common experience, to whom he had been joined in all his sympathies.

For myself, when any event is susceptible of a higher and nobler garnishing, I know not what that disposition is that would seek to drag it down to the depths of gloom, and write it all



over with the scrawls of horror or fear. I let the light of nobler thoughts fall upon his departure, and bless God that there is some argument of consolation in the matter and manner of his going, as there was in the matter and manner of his staying. This blow was but the expiring rebellion. As a miniature gives all the form and features of its subject, so, epitomized in this foul act, we find the whole nature and disposition of slavery. It begins in a wanton destruction of all human rights, and in a desecration of all the sanctities of heart and home; and it is the universal enemy of mankind, and of God, who made man. It can be maintained only at the sacrifice of every right and moral feeling in its abettors and upholders. I deride the man that points me to any man bred amid slavery, believing in it, and willingly practicing it, and tells me that he is a *man*. I shall find saints in perdition sooner than I shall find true manhood under the influences of so accursed a system as this. It is a two-edged sword, cutting both ways, violently destroying manhood in the oppressor. The problem is solved, the demonstration is completed, in our land. Slavery wastes its victims; and it destroys the masters. It destroys public morality, and the possibility of it. It corrupts manhood in its very centre and elements. Communities in which it exists are

not to be trusted. They are rotten. Nor can you find timber grown in this accursed soil of iniquity that is fit to build our ship of state, or lay the foundation of our households. The patriotism that grows up under this blight, when put to proof, is selfish and brittle; and he that leans upon it shall be pierced. The honor that grows up in the midst of slavery is not honor, but a bastard quality that usurps the place of its better, only to disgrace the name of honor. And, as long as there is conscience, or reason, or Christianity, the honor that slavery begets will be a bye-word and a hissing. The whole moral nature of men reared to familiarity and connivance with slavery is death-smitten. The needless rebellion; the treachery of its leaders to oaths and solemn trusts; their violation of the commonest principles of fidelity, sitting in senates, in councils, in places of public confidence, only to betray and to destroy; the long, general and unparalleled cruelty to prisoners, without provocation, and utterly without excuse: the unreasoning malignity and fierceness—these all mark the symptoms of that disease of slavery which is a deadly poison to soul and body.

I do not say that there are not single natures, here and there, scattered through the vast wilderness which is covered with this poisonous vine, who escape the poison. There are, but

they are not to be found among the men that believe in it, and that have been moulded by it. They are the exceptions. Slavery is itself barbarity. That nation which cherishes it is barbarous; and no outward tinsel or glitter can redeem it from the charge of barbarism. And it was fit that its expiring blow should be such as to take away from men the last forbearance, the last pity, and fire the soul with an invincible determination that the breeding-ground of such mischiefs and monsters shall be utterly and forever destroyed. We needed not that he should put on paper that he believed in slavery, who, with treason, with murder, with cruelty infernal, hovered around that majestic man to destroy his life. He was himself but the long sting with which slavery struck at liberty; and he carried the poison that belonged to slavery. And so long as this nation lasts, it will never be forgotten that we have had one martyred President—never! Never, while time lasts, while heaven lasts, while hell rocks and groans, will it be forgotten that slavery, by its minions, slew him, and, in slaying him, made manifest its whole nature and tendency.

This blow was aimed at the life of the government and of the nation. Lincoln was slain; America was meant. The man was cast down; the government was smitten at. The President

was killed: it was national life, breathing freedom, and meaning beneficence, that was sought.

He, the man of Illinois, the private man, divested of robes and the insignia of authority, representing nothing but his personal self, might have been hated; but it was not that that ever would have called forth the murderer's blow. It was because he stood in the place of government, representing government, and a government that represented right and liberty, that he was singled out.

This then is a crime against universal government. It is not a blow at the foundations of our government, more than at the foundations of the English Government, of the French Government, of every compacted and well-organized government. It was a crime against mankind. The whole world will repudiate and stigmatize it as a deed without a shade of redeeming light. For this was not the oppressed, goaded to extremity, turning on his oppressor. Not the shadow of a cloud, even, has rested on the South, of wrong; and they knew it right well.

In a council held in the City of Charleston, just preceding the attack on Fort Sumter, two commissioners were appointed to go to Washington; one on the part of the army from Fort Sumter, and one on the part of the Confederates. The lieutenant that was designated to go for

us said it seemed to him that it would be of little use for him to go, as his opinion was immovably fixed in favor of maintaining the Government in whose service he was employed. Then Governor Pickens took him aside, detaining, for an hour and a half, the railroad train that was to convey them on their errand. He opened to him the whole plan and secret of the Southern conspiracy, and said to him, distinctly and repeatedly (for it was needful, he said, to lay aside disguises), that the South had never been wronged, and that all their pretences of grievances in the matter of tariffs, or anything else, were invalid. "But," said he, "we must carry the people with us; and we allege these things, as all statesmen do many things that they do not believe, because they are the only instruments by which the people can be managed." He then and there declared that the two sections of country were so antagonistic in ideas and policies that they could not live together, that it was foreordained that Northern and Southern men must keep apart on account of differences in ideas and policies, and that all the pretences of the South about wrongs suffered were but pretences, as they very well knew. This is testimony which was given by one of the leaders in the rebellion, and which will, probably, ere long, be given under hand and seal to the public.

So the South has never had wrong visited upon it except by that which was inherent in it.

This was not, then, the avenging hand of one goaded by tyranny. It was not a despot turned on by his victims. It was the venomous hatred of liberty wielded by an avowed advocate of slavery. And, though there may have been cases of murder in which there were shades of palliation, yet this murder was without provocation, without temptation, without reason, sprung from the fury of a heart cankered to all that was just and good, and corrupted by all that was wicked and foul. The blow has signally failed. The cause is not stricken; it is strengthened. This nation has dissolved but in tears only. It stands four-square, more solid, to-day, than any pyramid in Egypt. This people are neither wasted, nor daunted, nor disordered. Men hate slavery and love liberty with stronger hate and love to-day than ever before. The Government is not weakened, it is made stronger. How naturally and easily were the ranks closed! Another stepped forward, in the hour that the one fell, to take his place and his mantle; and I avow my belief that he will be found a man true to every instinct of liberty; true to the whole trust that is reposed in him; vigilant of the Constitution; careful of the laws; wise for liberty, in that he himself, through his life, has known what

it was to suffer from the stings of slavery, and to prize liberty from bitter personal experiences.

Where could the head of government in any monarchy be smitten down by the hand of an assassin, and the funds not quiver nor fall one-half of one per cent? After a long period of national disturbance, after four years of drastic war, after tremendous drafts on the resources of the country, in the height and top of our burdens, the heart of this people is such that now, when the head of government is stricken down, the public funds do not waver, but stand as the granite ribs in our mountains.

Republican institutions have been vindicated in this experience as they never were before; and the whole history of the last four years, rounded up by this cruel stroke, seems, in the providence of God, to have been clothed, now, with an illustration, with a sympathy, with an aptness and with a significance, such as we never could have expected nor imagined. God, I think, has said, by the voice of this event, to all nations of the earth, "Republican liberty, based upon true Christianity, is firm as the foundation of the globe."

Even he who now sleeps has, by this event, been clothed with new influence. Dead, he speaks to men who now willingly hear what before they refused to listen to. Now his simple

and weighty words will be gathered like those of Washington, and your children, and your children's children, shall be taught to ponder the simplicity and deep wisdom of utterances which in their time, passed, in party heat, as idle words. Men will receive a new impulse of patriotism for his sake, and will guard with zeal the whole country which he loved so well. I swear you, on the altar of his memory, to be more faithful to the country for which he has perished. They will, as they follow his hearse, swear a new hatred to that slavery against which he warred, and which, in vanquishing him, has made him a martyr and a conqueror. I swear you, by the memory of this martyr, to hate slavery with an unappeasable hatred. They will admire and imitate the firmness of this man, his inflexible conscience for the right; and yet his gentleness, as tender as a woman's, his moderation of spirit, which, not all the heat of party could inflame, nor all the jars and disturbances of this country shake out of its place. I swear you to an emulation of his justice, his moderation, and his mercy.

You I can comfort; but how can I speak to that twilight million to whom his name was as the name of an angel of God? There will be wailing in places which no minister shall be able to reach. When, in hovel and in cot, in



wood and in wilderness, in the field throughout the South, the dusky children, who looked upon him as that Moses whom God sent before them to lead them out of the land of bondage, learn that he has fallen, who shall comfort them? O, thou Shepherd of Israel, that didst comfort thy people of old, to thy care we commit the helpless, the long-wronged, and grieved. And now the martyr is moving in triumphal march, mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at every stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pall-bearers, and the cannon beats the hours with solemn progression. Dead, *dead*, DEAD, he yet speaketh! Is Washington dead? Is Hampton dead? Is David dead? Is any man that ever was fit to live dead? Disenthralled of flesh, and risen in the unobstructed sphere where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable work. His life now is grafted upon the infinite, and will be fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that hast overcome! Your sorrows, oh people, are his peace! Your bells, and bands, and muffled drums, sound triumph in his ear. Wail and weep here; God makes it echo joy and triumph there. Pass on!

Four years ago, oh, Illinois, we took from your midst an untried man, and from among the people. We return him to you a mighty

conquerer. Not thine any more, but the nation's; not ours, but the world's. Give him place, oh, ye prairies! In the midst of this great continent his dust shall rest, a sacred treasure to myriads who shall pilgrim to that shrine to kindle anew their zeal and patriotism. Ye winds that move over the mighty places of the West, chant his requiem! Ye people, behold a martyr whose blood, as so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, for liberty.

*Amos A. Reed*

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# Abraham Lincoln

FOULLY ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14, 1865

BY TOM TAYLOR <sup>1</sup>

*You* lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier!  
    *You*, who with mocking pencil went to trace,  
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,  
    His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,  
    His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,  
His lack of all we prize as debonair,  
    Of power or will to shine, of art to please;

*You*, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,  
    Judging each step, as though the way were plain;  
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,  
    Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain!

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet  
    The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,  
Between the mourners at his head and feet,  
    Say, scurrile jester, is there room for *you*?

<sup>1</sup> The authorship of this poem is in some doubt. It has been attributed also to Shirley Brooks. It was originally published in *Punch*, London, May 6, 1865.

Yes; he had liv'd to shame me from my sneer,  
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen,  
To make me own this hind of princes peer,  
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learn'd to rue,  
Noting how to occasion's height he rose;  
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more  
true;

How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows;

How humble, yet how hopeful he could be;  
How in good fortune and in ill the same;  
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,  
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work,— such work as few  
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand,—  
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,  
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace com-  
mand;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,  
That God makes instruments to work his will,  
If but that will we can arrive to know,  
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side  
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,  
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied  
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting  
nights,—

The unclear'd forest, the unbroken soil,  
 The iron bark that turns the lumberer's axe,  
 The rapid that o'erbears the boatman's toil,  
 The prairie hiding the maz'd wanderer's tracks,

The ambush'd Indian, and the prowling bear,—  
 Such were the deeds that help'd his youth to train:  
 Rough culture, but such trees large fruit may bear,  
 If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destin'd work to do,  
 And liv'd to do it; four long-suffering years'  
 Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report, liv'd through,  
 And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise  
 And took both with the same unwavering mood,—  
 Till, as he came on light from darkling days,  
 And seem'd to touch the goal from where he  
 stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,  
 Reach'd from behind his back, a trigger prest —  
 And those perplex'd and patient eyes were dim,  
 Those gaunt, long-laboring limbs were laid to rest.

The words of mercy were upon his lips,  
 Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,  
 When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse  
 To thoughts of peace on earth, goodwill to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,  
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame.  
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high!  
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came!

A deed accurs'd! Strokes have been struck before  
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt  
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;  
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out,

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,  
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven,  
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life  
With much to praise, little to be forgiven.



# Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln

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ACCOUNT OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION  
RELATED TO F. B. CARPENTER

February 6, 1864

“IT HAD got to be,” said Mr. Lincoln, “midsummer, 1862. Things had gone on from bad to worse, until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing; that we had about played our last card, and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and without consultation with, or the knowledge of, the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject. This was the last of July or the first part of the month of August, 1862. [The exact date was July 22, 1862.] . . . All were present

excepting Mr. Blair, the Postmaster-General, who was absent at the opening of the discussion, but came in subsequently. I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them, suggestions as to which would be in order after they had heard it read. Mr. Lovejoy was in error when he informed you that it excited no comment excepting on the part of Secretary Seward. Various suggestions were offered. Secretary Chase wished the language stronger in reference to the arming of the blacks.

“Mr. Blair, after he came in, deprecated the policy on the ground that it would cost the administration the fall elections. Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance, ‘Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.’ His idea,” said the





President, "was that it would be considered our last *shriek* on the retreat. [This was his precise expression.] 'Now,' continued Mr. Seward, 'while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.'" Mr. Lincoln continued: "The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought upon the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside, as you do your sketch for a picture, waiting for a victory.

"From time to time I added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. Well, the next news we had was of Pope's disaster at Bull Run. Things looked darker than ever. Finally came the week of the battle of Antietam. I determined to wait no longer. The news came, I think, on Wednesday, that the advantage was on our side. I was then staying at the Soldier's Home [three miles out of Washington]. Here I finished writing the second draft of the preliminary proclamation; came up on Sunday; called the Cabinet together to hear it and it was published on the following Monday."

## NOTE TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 8, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I saw Doolittle and made your views known to him. He is altogether tractable on the question and thinks there is no danger of precipitate action.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## \*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL D. E. SICKLES

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 10, 1864.

*Major-General Sickles,\* New York:* Please come on at your earliest convenience, prepared to make the contemplated trip for me.

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 11, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* In January, 1863, the Provost-Marshal at St. Louis, having taken the control of a certain church from one set of men and given it to another I wrote General Curtis on the subject as follows:

“The United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take

care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

Some trouble remaining in this same case, I, on the twenty-second of December, 1863 in a letter to Mr. O. D. Filley, repeated the above language, and among other things added, "I have never interfered nor thought of interfering as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me. . . . I will not have control of any church on any side."

After having made these declarations in good faith, and in writing, you can conceive of my embarrassment at now having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date November 30, 1863, giving Bishop Ames control and possession of all the Methodist churches in certain Southern military departments, whose pastors have not been appointed by a loyal bishop or bishops, and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 12, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I have felt considerable anxiety concerning the Custom House at New York. Mr. Barney has suffered no abatement of my confidence in his honor and integrity; and yet I am convinced that he has ceased to be master of his position. A man by the name of Bailey, whom I am unconscious of ever having seen, or even having heard of except in this connection, expects to be, and even now assumes to be, collector *de facto*, while Mr. Barney remains nominally so. This Mr. Bailey, as I understand, having been summoned as a witness to testify before a committee of the House of Representatives which purposed investigating the affairs of the New York Custom House, took occasion to call on the chairman in advance, and to endeavor to smother the investigation, saying among other things, that whatever might be developed, the President would take no action, and the committee would thereby be placed unpleasantly. The public interest cannot fail to suffer in the hands of this irresponsible and unscrupulous man. I propose sending Mr. Barney minister to Portugal, as evidence of my continued confidence in him; and I further propose appointing—collector of the customs at New



1864]

Letter to Chase

7

York. I wrote the draft of this letter two weeks ago, but delayed sending it for a reason which I will state when I see you.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON THE MODIFYING ORDER RELATING TO METHODIST CHURCHES IN REBEL STATES, February 13, 1864

As you see within, the Secretary of War modifies his order so as to exempt Missouri from it. Kentucky was never within it; nor, as I learn from the Secretary was it ever intended for any more than a means of rallying the Methodist people in favor of the Union, in localities where the rebellion had disorganized and scattered them. Even in that view, I fear it is liable to some abuses, but it is not quite easy to withdraw it entirely and at once.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO HORACE MAYNARD

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 13, 1864.

*Hon. Horace Maynard, Nashville, Tenn.:*  
Your letter of [the] second received. Of course Governor Johnson will proceed with reorganization as the exigencies of the case appear to him to require. I do not apprehend he will

think it necessary to deviate from my views to any ruinous extent. On one hasty reading I see no such deviation in his program, which you send.  
A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. M. THAYER

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15, 1864.

*General Thayer, Fort Smith, Arkansas:*  
Yours received. Whatever of conflict there is between the convention and me is accidental, not designed, I having acted in ignorance that the convention would act. I yield to the convention, and have so notified General Steele, who is master, and is to cut any knots which cannot be untied. Correspond with him.

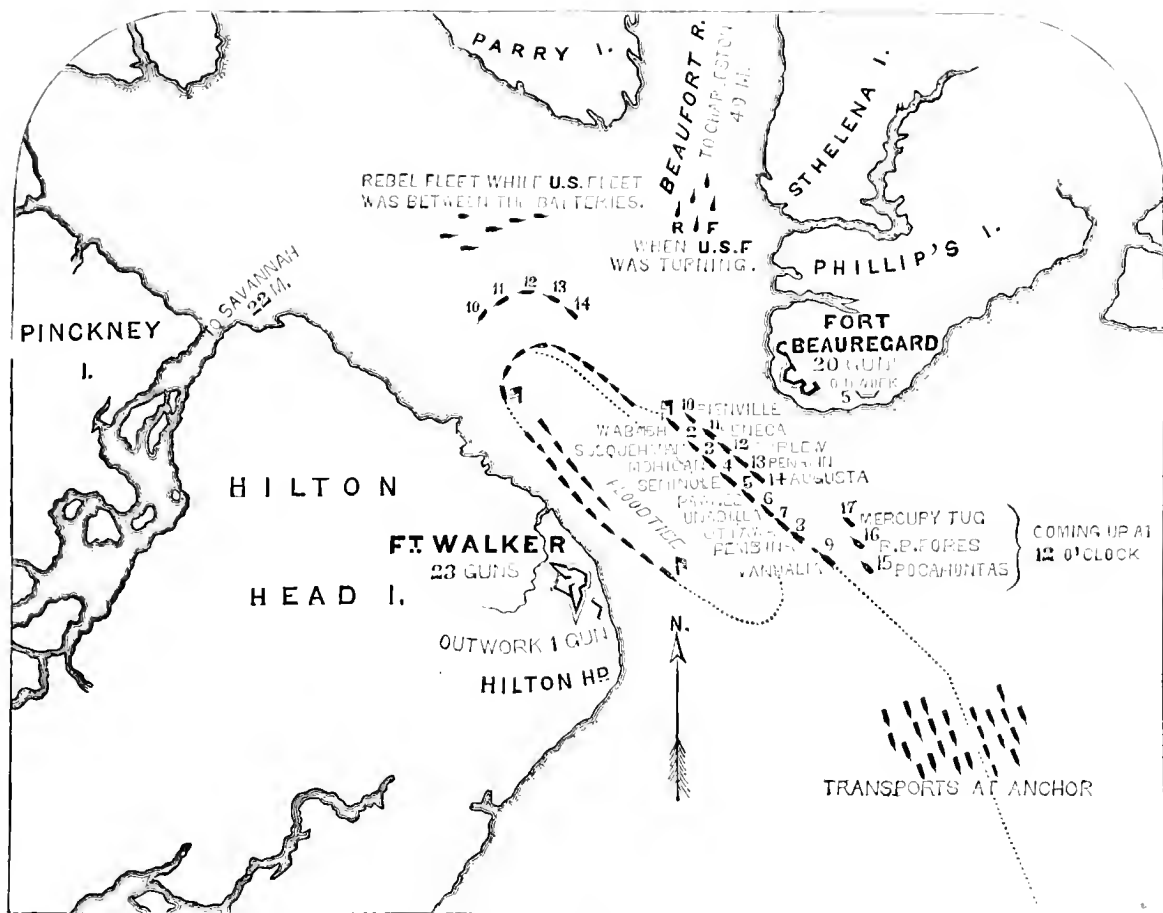
A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I have just called here to see you on the matter mentioned Saturday, and am pained to learn you are suffering too much to be out. I hope you will soon be relieved; meanwhile I have no uneasiness as to the thing to which I am alluding, as I shall do nothing in it until I shall [have] fully conferred with you.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.



PORT ROYAL AND HILTON HEAD.

EXPLANATION.—Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, in the back-ground, are the positions of the smaller Federal gunboats.



## LETTER TO GENERAL D. E. SICKLES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 15, 1864.

*Major-General Sickles:* I wish you to make a tour for me (principally for observation and information) by way of Cairo and New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean.

All military and naval officers are to facilitate you with suitable transportation, and by conferring with you, and imparting, so far as they can, the information herein indicated; but you are not to command any of them. You will call at Memphis, Helena, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Pensacola, Key West, Charleston Harbor, and such intermediate points as you may think important.

Please ascertain at each place what is being done, if any thing, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works—if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines. Also learn what you can as to the colored people; how they get along as soldiers, as laborers in our service, on

leased plantations, and as hired laborers with their old masters, if there be such cases. Also learn what you can as to the colored people within the rebel lines. Also get any other information you may consider interesting, and from time to time, send me what you may deem important to be known here at once, and be ready to make a general report on your return.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
February 16, 1864

*To the House of Representatives of the United States:* In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the eighth instant, requesting information touching the arrest of the United States Consul-General to the British North American Provinces, and certain official communications respecting Canadian commerce, I transmit a report from the Secretary of State, and the documents by which it was accompanied.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, February 16, 1864

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:* I transmit to Congress a report from the Secretary of State with the accompanying papers relative to the claim on this government of the owners of the French ship *La Manche*, and

recommend an appropriation for the satisfaction of the claim pursuant to the award of the arbitrators.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

✱ TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. STEELE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 17, 1864.

*Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:*

The day fixed by the convention for the election is probably the best, but you on the ground, and in consultation with gentlemen there, are to decide. I should have fixed no day for an election, presented no plan for reconstruction, had I know the convention was doing the same things. It is probably best that you merely assist the convention on their own plan, as to election day and all other matters. I have already written and telegraphed this half a dozen times.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO W. M. FISHBACK

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 17, 1864.

*William M. Fishback, Little Rock, Ark.:*

When I fixed a plan for an election in Arkansas I did it in ignorance that your convention was doing the same work. Since I learned the latter fact I have been constantly trying to yield my plan to them. I have sent two letters to General Steele, and three or four despatches to you and others, saying that he, General Steele,

must be master, but that it will probably be best for him to merely help the convention on its own plan. Some single mind must be master, else there will be no agreement in anything, and General Steele, commanding the military and being on the ground, is the best man to be that master. Even now citizens are telegraphing me to postpone the election to a later day than either that fixed by the convention or by me. This discord must be silenced. A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO GOVERNOR ANDREW

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 18, 1864.

*John A. Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts:*  
Yours of the 12th was received yesterday. If I were to judge from the letter, without any external knowledge, I should suppose that all the colored people south of Washington were struggling to get to Massachusetts; that Massachusetts was anxious to receive and retain the whole of them as permanent citizens, and that the United States Government here was interposing and preventing this. But I suppose these are neither really the facts nor meant to be asserted as true by you. Coming down to what I suppose to be the real facts, you are engaged in trying to raise colored troops for the United States, and wish to take recruits from Virginia through Washington to Massachusetts



for that object, and the loyal governor of Virginia, also trying to raise troops for us, objects to your taking his material away, while we, having to care for all and being responsible alike to all, have to do as much for him as we would have to do for you if he was by our authority taking men from Massachusetts to fill up Virginia regiments. No more than this has been intended by me, nor, as I think, by the Secretary of War. There may have been some abuses of this, as a rule, which, if known should be prevented in future. If, however, it be really true that Massachusetts wishes to afford a permanent home within her borders for all or even a large number of colored persons who will come to her, I shall be only too glad to know it. It would give relief in a very difficult point, and I would not for a moment hinder from going any person who is free by the terms of the proclamation, or any of the acts of Congress.

## PROCLAMATION CONCERNING BLOCKADE,

February 18, 1864

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:*A Proclamation.*

**W**HEREAS, by my proclamation of the nineteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, the ports of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas were, for reasons therein set forth, placed under blockade; and whereas, the port of Brownsville, in the district of Brazos Santiago, in the State of Texas, has since been blockaded, but as the blockade of said port may now be safely relaxed with advantage to the interests of commerce:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, pursuant to the authority in me vested by the fifth section of the act of Congress approved on the 13th of July, 1861, entitled "An act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports, and for other purposes," do hereby declare that the blockade of the said port of Brownsville

shall so far cease and determine from and after this date, that commercial intercourse with said port, except as to persons, things, and information hereinafter specified, may, from this date, be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, to the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and, until the rebellion, shall have been suppressed, to such orders as may be promulgated by the general commanding the department, or by an officer duly authorized by him and commanding at said port. This proclamation does not authorize or allow the shipment or conveyance of persons in, or intending to enter, the service of the insurgents, or of things or information intended for their use, or for their aid or comfort, nor, except upon the permission of the Secretary of War, or of some officer duly authorized by him, of the following prohibited articles, namely: cannon, mortars, firearms, pistols, bombs, grenades, powder, saltpeter, sulphur, balls, bullets, pikes, swords, boarding-caps (always excepting the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defense of the ship and those who compose the crew), saddles, bridles, cartridge-bag material, percussion and other caps, clothing adapted for uniforms, sail-cloth of all kinds, hemp and cordage, intoxicating drinks other than beer and light native wines.

To vessels clearing from foreign ports and destined to the port of Brownsville, opened by this proclamation, licenses will be granted by consuls of the United States upon satisfactory evidence that the vessel so licensed will convey no persons, property, or information excepted or prohibited above, either to or from the said port; which licenses shall be exhibited to the collector of said port immediately on arrival, and, if required, to any officer in charge of the blockade, and on leaving said port every vessel will be required to have a clearance from the collector of the customs, according to law, showing no violation of the conditions of the license. Any violations of said conditions will involve the forfeiture and condemnation of the vessel and cargo, and the exclusion of all parties concerned from any further privilege of entering the United States during the war for any purpose whatever.

In all respects, except as herein specified, the existing blockade remains in full force and effect as hitherto established and maintained, nor is it relaxed by this proclamation except in regard to the port to which relaxation is or has been expressly applied.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord [L. S.] one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

### TELEGRAM TO WARREN JORDAN

NASHVILLE, February 20, 1864.

*Hon. W. H. Seward:* In county and State elections, must citizens of Tennessee take the oath prescribed by Governor Johnson, or will the President's oath of amnesty entitle them to vote? I have been appointed and hold the March election in Cheatham county, and wish to act understandingly.

WARREN JORDAN.

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1864.

*Warren Jordan, Nashville:* In county elections you had better stand by Governor Johnson's plan; otherwise you will have conflict and confusion. I have seen his plan.

A. LINCOLN.

### NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 20, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Herewith I return the affidavit you handed me. In glancing over it once,

I do not perceive anything necessarily inconsistent with the practice of detectives and others engaged in the business of "rascal catching;" but a closer examination might show it. It seems to me that August, the month within which the affiant fixes his first interview with Hanscomb, was really before Hanscomb left Boston and came to New York.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, February 22, 1864

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
I submit to Congress the copy of a correspondence which has recently taken place between her Britannic Majesty's minister accredited to this government and the Secretary of State, in order that the expediency of sanctioning the acceptance, by the master of the American schooner *Highlander*, of a present of a watch which the lords of the committee of her Majesty's privy council for trade propose to present to him, in recognition of services tendered by him to the crew of the British vessel *Pearl*, may be taken into consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 22, 1864.

*Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:*  
Yours of yesterday received. Your conference

with citizens approved. Let the election be on the 14th of March as they agreed.

A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 22, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, Saint Louis, Mo.:*  
Colonel Sanderson will be ordered to you to-day, a mere omission that it was not done before. The other questions in your despatch I am not yet prepared to answer.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 23, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours of yesterday in relation to the paper issued by Senator Pomeroy was duly received; and I write this note merely to say I will answer a little more fully when I can find time to do so.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 25, 1864.

*Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:*  
General Sickles is not going to Arkansas. He probably will make a tour down the Mississippi and home by the gulf and ocean, but he will not meddle in your affairs.

At one time I did intend to have him call on

you and explain more fully than I could do by letter or telegraph, so as to avoid a difficulty coming of my having made a plan here, while the convention made one there, for reorganizing Arkansas; but even his doing that has been given up for more than two weeks. Please show this to Governor Murphy to save me telegraphing him.

A. LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER,  
February 25, 1864

Major-General Butler, please see and hear Judge Pitts of Eastern Shore of Virginia. He wishes to do right, but meets some difficulty at a point which it is probable you can obviate.

A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 26, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:* I cannot remember at whose request it was that I gave the pass to Mrs. Bulkly. Of course detain her, if the evidence of her being a spy is strong against her.

A. LINCOLN.

\* LETTER TO W. JAYNE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 26, 1864.

*Dear Sir:* I dislike to make changes in office as long as they can be avoided. It multi-







H. C. Smith sculp.

Andrew Johnson

plies my embarrassments immensely. I dislike two appointments when one will do. Send me the name of some man not the present marshal, and I will nominate him to be Provost Marshal for Dakota.

Yours truly,  
A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO E. H. EAST

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

*Hon. E. H. East, Secretary of State, Nashville, Tenn.:* Your telegram of the twenty-sixth instant asking for a copy of my despatch to Warren Jordan, Esq., at "Nashville Press" office, has just been referred to me by Governor Johnson. In my reply to Mr. Jordan, which was brief and hurried, I intended to say that in the county and State elections of Tennessee, the oath prescribed in the proclamation of Governor Johnson on the twenty-sixth of January, 1864, ordering an election in Tennessee on the first Saturday in March next, is entirely satisfactory to me as a test of loyalty of all persons proposing or offering to vote in said elections; and coming from him would better be observed and followed. There is no conflict between the oath of amnesty in my proclamation of eighth December, 1863, and that prescribed by Governor Johnson in his proclamation of the twenty-sixth ultimo.

No person who has taken the oath of amnesty of eighth December, 1863, and obtained a pardon thereby, and who intends to observe the same in good faith, should have any objection to taking that prescribed by Governor Johnson as a test of loyalty. I have seen and examined Governor Johnson's proclamation, and am entirely satisfied with his plan, which is to restore the State government and place it under the control of citizens truly loyal to the Government of the United States. A. LINCOLN.

Please send above to Governor Johnson.

A. L.

#### LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 27, 1864.

*Sir:* You ask some instructions from me in relation to the Report of Special Commission constituted by an order of the War Department, dated December 5, 1863, "to revise the enrolment and quotas of the City and State of New York, and report whether there be any, and what, errors or irregularities therein, and what corrections, if any, should be made?"

In the correspondence between the governor of New York and myself last summer I understood him to complain that the enrolments in several of the districts of that State had been neither accurately nor honestly made; and in

view of this, I, for the draft then immediately ensuing, ordered an arbitrary reduction of the quotas in several of the districts wherein they seemed too large, and said: "After this drawing, these four districts, and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process." In a subsequent letter I believe some additional districts were put into the list of those to be reënrolled. My idea was to do the work over according to the law, in the presence of the complaining party, and thereby to correct anything which might be found amiss. The commission, whose work I am considering, seem to have proceeded upon a totally different idea. Not going forth to find men at all, they have proceeded altogether upon paper examinations and mental processes. One of their conclusions, as I understand, is that, as the law stands, and attempting to follow it, the enrolling officers could not have made the enrolments much more accurately than they did. The report on this point might be useful to Congress. The commission conclude that the quotas for the draft should be based upon entire population, and they proceed upon this basis to give a table for the State of New York, in which some districts are reduced and some increased. For the now ensuing draft, let the quotas stand

as made by the enrolling officers, in the districts wherein this table requires them to be increased; and let them be reduced according to the table in the others; this to be no precedent for subsequent action. But, as I think this report may, on full consideration, be shown to have much that is valuable in it, I suggest that such consideration be given it, and that it be especially considered whether its suggestions can be conformed to without an alteration of the law.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL J. W. DAVIDSON

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1864.

*General Davidson, Cairo:* Whether you shall come to Washington I must submit to the general-in-chief.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL THOMAS

WAR DEPARTMENT, February 28, 1864.

*General L. Thomas, Louisville, Ken.:* I see your despatch of yesterday to the Secretary of War.

I wish you would go to the Mississippi River at once, and take hold of and be master in the contraband and leasing business. You understand it better than any other man does. Mr. Miller's system doubtless is well intended, but from what I hear I fear that, if persisted in, it

would fall dead within its own entangling details. Go there and be the judge. A Mr. Lewis will probably follow you with something from me on this subject, but do not wait for him. Nor is this to induce you to violate or neglect any military order from the general-in-chief or Secretary of War. A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 29, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I would have taken time to answer yours of the 22d sooner, only that I did not suppose any evil could result from the delay, especially as, by a note, I promptly acknowledged the receipt of yours, and promised a fuller answer. Now, on consideration, I find there is really very little to say. My knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's letter having been made public came to me only the day you wrote but I had, in spite of myself, known of its existence several days before. I have not yet read it, and I think I shall not. I was not shocked or surprised by the appearance of the letter, because I had had knowledge of Mr. Pomeroy's committee, and of secret issues which I supposed came from it, and of secret agents who I supposed were sent out by it, for several weeks. I have known just as little of these things as my friends have allowed me to know. They bring

the documents to me, but I do not read them; they tell me what they think fit to tell me, but I do not inquire for more. I fully concur with you that neither of us can be justly held responsible for what our respective friends may do without our instigation or countenance; and I assure you, as you have assured me, that no assault has been made upon you by my instigation or with my countenance. Whether you shall remain at the head of the Treasury Department is a question which I will not allow myself to consider from any standpoint other than my judgment of the public service, and, in that view, I do not perceive occasion for a change.

Yours truly,                   A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
February 29, 1864

*To the House of Representatives:* In answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 26th instant, I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of War relative to the reënlistment of veteran volunteers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL THOMAS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 1, 1864.

*General L. Thomas:* This introduces Mr. Lewis, mentioned in my despatch sent you at



Louisville some days ago. I have but little personal acquaintance with him; but he has the confidence of several members of Congress here who seem to know him well. He hopes to be useful, without charge to the government, in facilitating the introduction of the free-labor system on the Mississippi plantations. He is acquainted with, and has access to, many of the planters who wish to adopt the system. He will show you two letters of mine on this subject, one somewhat general, and the other relating to named persons. They are not different in principle. He will also show you some suggestions coming from some of the planters themselves. I desire that all I promise in these letters, so far as practicable, may be in good faith carried out, and that suggestions from the planters may be heard and adopted, so far as they may not contravene the principles stated, nor justice, nor fairness, to laborers. I do not herein intend to overrule your own mature judgment on any point.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 1, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the army, that for some offense has been sentenced to serve a long time

without pay, or at most with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay—it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he had been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor mother, I made a direction that he be allowed to enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others. She now comes, and says she cannot get it acted upon. Please do it.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 2, 1864.

*Dear Sir:* The President has received the telegram of the governor of Illinois to the Secretary of War giving notice of an insurrection in Edgar County, in that State, and which you have referred to him for instructions. He directs me to request that you will please consult the general-in-chief, and comply with the request of Governor Yates, if that shall be the most expeditious and feasible plan.

Your obedient servant,  
JNO. G. NICOLAY, Private Secretary.

\* PASS FOR MRS. RUMSEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 2, 1864.

*Officer in Command, Knoxville, Tenn.:* Allow Mrs. Anne Maria Rumsey, with her six



DEATH OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.



daughters, to go to her father, Judge Breck, at Richmond, Ky. A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL F. STEELE

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 3, 1864.

*Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:*  
Yours including address to people of Arkansas is received. I approve the address and thank you for it. Yours in relation to Willard M. Randolph also received. Let him take the oath of December 8, and go to work for the new constitution, and on your notifying me of it, I will immediately issue the special pardon for him.

A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 4, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:*  
Admiral Dahlgren is here, and of course is very anxious about his son. Please send me at once all you know or can learn of his fate.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 4, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* In consequence of a call Mr. Villard makes on me, having a note from you to him, I am induced to say I have no wish for the publication of the correspondence between

yourself and me in relation to the Pomeroy circular—in fact rather prefer to avoid an unnecessary exhibition—yet you are at liberty, without in the least offending me, to allow the publication if you choose.

Yours truly,  
A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM ABOUT CHURCHES,  
March 4, 1864

I have written before, and now repeat, the United States Government must not undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest he must be checked, but the churches as such must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches. I add if the military have military need of the church building, let them keep it; otherwise let them get out of it, and leave it and its owners alone except for causes that justify the arrest of any one.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO JOHN A. J. CRESWELL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I am very anxious for emancipation to be effected in Maryland in some substantial form. I think it probable that my ex-

pressions of a preference for gradual over immediate emancipation, are misunderstood. I had thought the gradual would produce less confusion and destitution, and therefore would be more satisfactory; but if those who are better acquainted with the subject, and are more deeply interested in it, prefer the immediate, most certainly I have no objection to their judgment prevailing. My wish is that all who are for emancipation in any form, shall coöperate, all treating all respectfully, and all adopting and acting upon the major opinion when fairly ascertained. What I have dreaded is the danger that by jealousies, rivalries, and consequent ill-blood—driving one another out of meetings and conventions—perchance from the polls—the friends of emancipation themselves may divide, and lose the measure altogether. I wish this letter to not be made public; but no man representing me as I herein represent myself will be in any danger of contradiction by me.

Yours truly,           A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe:* General Meade has Richmond "Sentinel," saying that Colonel Dahlgren was killed and ninety of his men captured at King and Queen Court

House. When did Kilpatrick's informant last see Colonel Dahlgren? A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 7, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* It is represented to me that General David B. Birney, who is nominated for a major-general to take rank from June 22, 1863, is really entitled, if at all, to take rank from May 3, 1863, for meritorious conduct at Chancellorsville. It is also represented that to make the desired change will not give General Birney rank over any one who now ranks him. I shall be glad to withdraw his present nomination and make the change, if the above is a true and a full statement of the facts.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

#### MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, March 9, 1864

*To the Senate of the United States:* In compliance with the resolution of the Senate, of the first instant, respecting the points of commencement of the Union Pacific Railroad on the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and of the branch road from the western boundary of Iowa to the said one hundredth degree of longitude, I transmit the accompanying report from the Secretary of the Interior, containing the information called for.



I deem it proper to add, that on the seventeenth day of November last an executive order was made upon this subject and delivered to the vice-president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which fixed the point on the western boundary of the State of Iowa, from which the company should construct their branch road to the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and declared it to be within the limits of the township, in Iowa, opposite the town of Omaha, in Nebraska. Since then the company has represented to me that, upon actual surveys made, it has determined upon the precise point of departure of their said branch road from the Missouri River, and located the same as described in the accompanying report of the Secretary of the Interior, which point is within the limits designated in the order of November last; and in as much as that order is not of record in any of the executive departments, and the company having desired a more definite one, I have made the order of which a copy is herewith [transmitted] and caused the same to be filed in the Department of the Interior.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ADDRESS TO GENERAL GRANT, March 9, 1864

*General Grant:* The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you

for what remains to do, in the existing great struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the Army of the United States.

With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence.

#### GENERAL GRANT'S RESPONSE.

*Mr. President:* I accept this commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred.

With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations.

I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men.

#### \*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 9, 1864.

*Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac.* New York City votes 9,500 majority for allowing soldiers to vote, and the rest of the State nearly all on the same side. Tell the soldiers.

A. LINCOLN.

ORDER ASSIGNING U. S. GRANT TO THE COM-  
MAND OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED  
STATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 10, 1864.

Under the authority of an act of Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general in the United States Army, approved February 29, 1864, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, United States Army, is assigned to the command of the Armies of the United States.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM, March 10, 1864

I think the Amsterdam projectile is too good a thing to be lost to the service, and if offered at the Hotchkiss prices, and not in excessive quantities, nor unreasonable terms in other respects, by either or both parties to the patent controversy, take it, so that the test be fully made. I am for the government having the best articles in spite of patent controversies.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 10, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans:* Please carefully examine and consider the question whether, on the whole, it would be advantageous to our mili-

tary operations for the United States to furnish iron for completing the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, all or any part of the way from Rolla to Springfield, Missouri, so fast as the company shall do all the other work for the completion, and to receive pay for said iron in transportation upon said newly made part of said road; and if your opinion shall be in the affirmative, make a contract with the company to that effect, subject to my approval or rejection. In any event, report the main facts, together with your reasoning, to me. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### NOTE TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

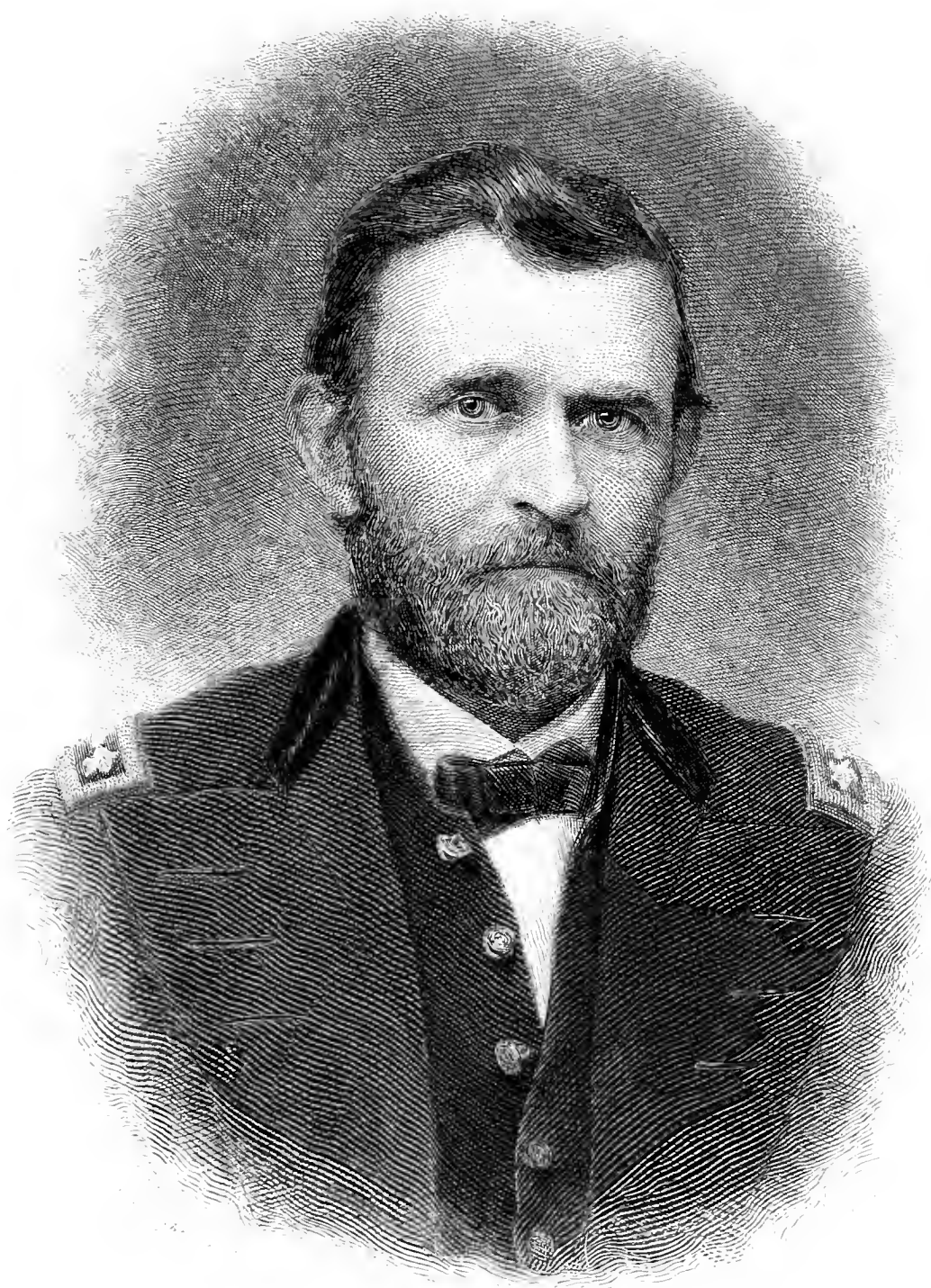
EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 10, 1864.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac:* Mrs. Lincoln invites yourself and General Meade to dine with us Saturday evening. Please notify him, and answer whether you can be with us at that time.

A. LINCOLN.

#### MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, March 12, 1864

*To the Senate of the United States:* In obedience to the resolution of the Senate of the 28th of January last, I communicate herewith a report, with accompanying papers from the Secretary of the Interior, showing what portion of the appropriations for the colonization of per-



*W. A. Wood*  
*W. A. Wood*



sons of African descent has been expended, and the several steps which have been taken for the execution of the acts of Congress on that subject.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

NOTE TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:* If Miss Gaston and Miss Manly still refuse to take the oath let them return South.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

*Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Ark.:* I am not appointing officers for Arkansas now, and I will try to remember your request. Do your best to get out the largest vote possible, and of course as much of it as possible on the right side.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO W. M. FISHBACK

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 12, 1864.

*William Fishback, Fort Smith, Ark.:* I know not that any change of departmental lines is likely to be made in Arkansas; but if done, it will be for purely military reasons, to which the good people there can have no just cause of objection. Get out the largest vote you can, and

the largest part of it on the right side that is possible.

A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO M. P. GENTRY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours by the hand of General Grant is received. Of course I have not forgotten you. General Grant is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to send you South; and it is rather my wish that he may find it not inconsistent with his view of the public interest to oblige you.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO GOVERNOR MICHAEL HAHN <sup>1</sup>

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 13, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I congratulate you on having fixed your name in history as the first free-State

<sup>1</sup>The caution with which Lincoln approached the subject of elective franchise is shown in this letter to Governor Hahn. It attests that the writer had no intention of forcing negro suffrage upon the rebel States, but rather left it to the people to decide, while certainly desiring it himself. The political reorganization of Louisiana was a difficult and protracted one. Finally, on Jan. 11, 1864, a proclamation announced an election for State officers to be held on Feb. 22. Upon that day 11,411 votes were cast for Governor of the State, of which Michael Hahn received 6,185. Hahn was inaugurated on March 4 in the presence of more than fifty thousand people and amid a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm.



governor of Louisiana. Now you are about to have a convention, which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GENERAL C. SCHURZ

(*Private.*)

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very

glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military. Yours truly,

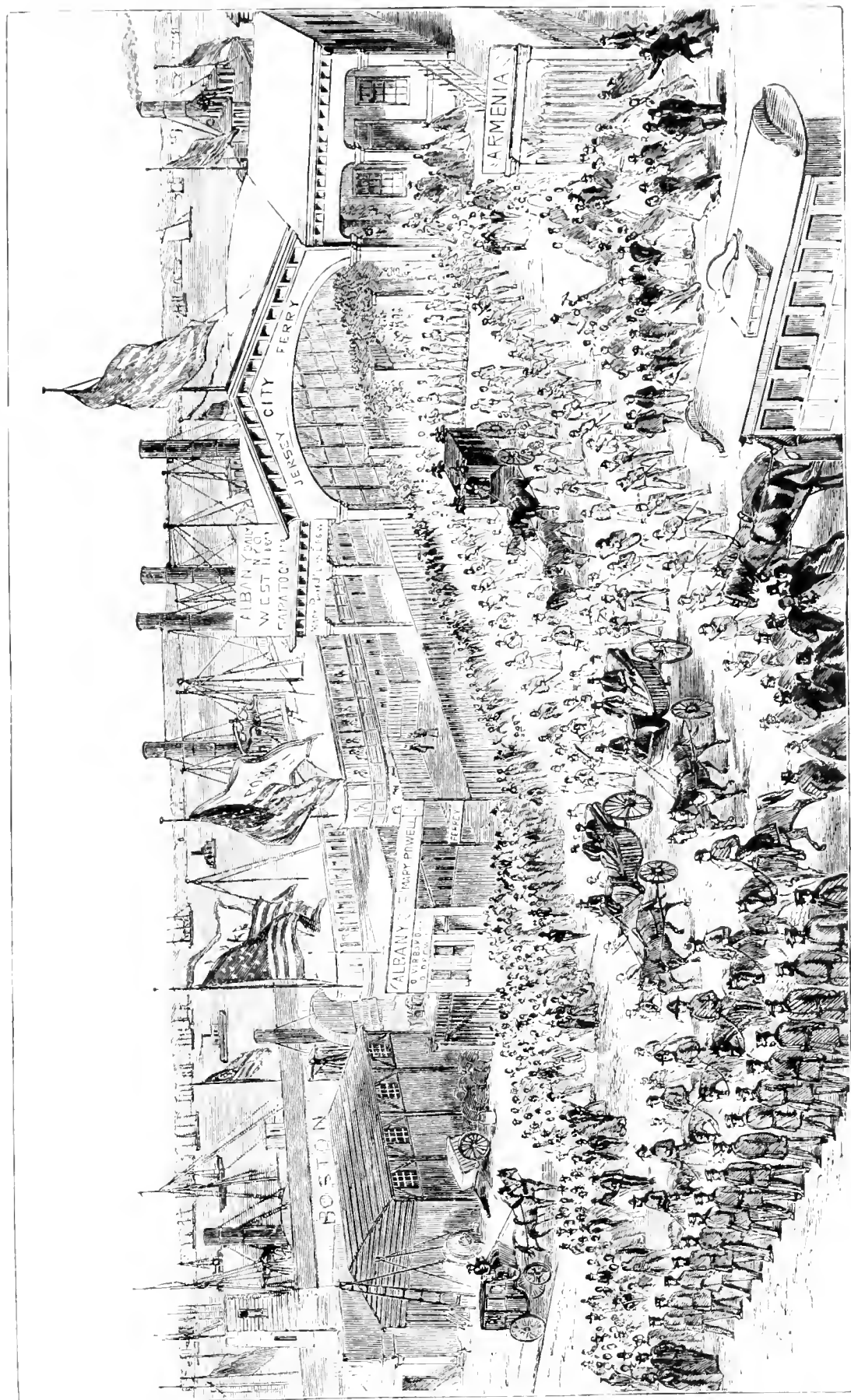
A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, March 14, 1864

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
I transmit to Congress a copy of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, concluded on the first of July last, the ratifications of which were exchanged in this city on the fifth instant, and recommend an appropriation to carry into effect the first, second, and third articles thereof. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, March 14, 1864

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
On the twenty-fifth day of November, 1862, a convention for the mutual adjustment of claims pending between the United States and Ecuador was signed at Quito by the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties. A copy is herewith inclosed. This convention, already ratified by this government, has been sent to Quito for the customary exchange of ratifications, which it is not doubted will be promptly effected. As the



ARRIVAL OF THE REMAINS AT DESBROSSES STREET FERRY



stipulations of the instrument require that the commissioners, who are to be appointed pursuant to its provisions, shall meet at Guayaquil within ninety days after such exchange, it is desirable that the legislation necessary to give effect to the convention on the part of the United State should anticipate the usual course of proceeding.

I therefore invite the early attention of Congress to the subject.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 14, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:*  
First lieutenant and adjutant of Sixth Wisconsin Volunteers, Edward P. Brooks, is a prisoner of war at Richmond, and if you can without difficulty, effect a special exchange for him, I shall be obliged.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 15, 1864.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, Nashville, Tenn.:*  
General McPherson having been assigned to the command of a department, could not General Frank Blair, without difficulty or detriment to the service, be assigned to command the corps he commanded a while last autumn? A. LINCOLN.

## PASS FOR GENERAL D. E. SICKLES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

March 15, 1864.

*Whom it may concern:* Major-General Sickles is making a tour for me from here by way of Cairo, New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean, and all land and naval officers and employees are directed to furnish reasonable transportation and other reasonable facilities to himself and personal staff not inconsistent with the public service.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## INDORSEMENT, March 15, 1864

While I leave this case to the discretion of General Banks, my view is that the United States should not appoint trustees for, or in any way take charge of, any church as such. If the building is needed for military purposes, take it; if it is not so needed, let its church people have it, dealing with any disloyal people among them as you deal with other disloyal people

A. LINCOLN.

## ORDER TO GENERAL HAHN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 15, 1864.

*Hon. Michael Hahn, Governor of Louisiana:*  
Until further order, you are hereby invested

with the powers exercised hitherto by the military governor of Louisiana.

Yours truly, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 16, 1864.

*Governor Isaac Murphy, Little Rock, Ark.:*

What of your election on the fourteenth?

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO JOHN A. J. CRESWELL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 17, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* It needs not to be a secret that I wish success to emancipation in Maryland. It would aid much to end the rebellion. Hence it is a matter of national consequence, in which every national man may rightfully feel a deep interest. I sincerely hope the friends of the measure will allow no minor considerations to divide and distract them.

Yours truly, A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 17, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:*

If you obtain the remains of Colonel Dahlgren, please notify me instantly, so that I can let his afflicted relatives know.

A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON <sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 18, 1864.

**M**Y DEAR SIR: I am so pressed in regard to prisoners of war in our custody, whose homes are within our lines, and who wish to not be exchanged, but to take the oath and be discharged, that I hope you will pardon me for again calling up the subject. My impression is that we will not ever force the exchange of any of this class; that, taking the oath and being discharged, none of them will again go to the rebellion; but the rebellion again coming to them, a considerable percentage of them, probably not a majority, would rejoin it; that, by a cautious discrimination, the number so discharged would not be large enough to do any considerable mischief in any event, will relieve distress in at least some meritorious cases, and would give me some relief from an intolerable pressure. I shall be glad, therefore, to have your cheerful assent to the discharge of those whose names I may send, which I will only do with circumspection.

<sup>1</sup> Only the first paragraph of this was actually sent. The President's leniency was constantly in conflict with army discipline.



In using the strong hand, as now compelled to do, the government has a difficult duty to perform. At the very best it will by turns do both too little and too much. It can properly have no motive of revenge, no purpose to punish merely for punishment's sake. While we must by all available means prevent the overthrow of the government, we should avoid planting and cultivating too many thorns in the bosom of society. These general remarks apply to several classes of cases, on each of which I wish to say a word.

First. The dismissal of officers when neither incompetency, nor intentional wrong, nor real injury to the service, is imputed. In such cases it is both cruel and impolitic to crush the man and make him and his friends permanent enemies to the administration if not to the government itself. I think of two instances: one wherein a surgeon, for the benefit of patients in his charge, needed some lumber, and could only get it by making a false certificate wherein the lumber was denominated "butter and eggs," and he was dismissed for the false certificate; the other a surgeon by the name of Owen, who served from the beginning of the war till recently with two servants, and without objection, when upon discovery that the servants were his own sons he was dismissed.

Another class consists of those who are known or strongly suspected to be in sympathy with the rebellion. An instance of this is the family of Southern, who killed a recruiting officer last autumn in Maryland. He fled, and his family are driven from their home without a shelter or crumb, except when got by burdening our friends more than our enemies. Southern had no justification to kill the officer, and yet he would not have been killed if he had proceeded in the temper and manner agreed upon by yourself and Governor Bradford; but this is past. What is to be done with the family? Why can they not occupy the old home and excite much less opposition to the government than the manifestation of their distress is now doing? If the house is really needed for the public service, or if it has been regularly confiscated and the title transferred, the case is different.

Again, the cases of persons, mostly women, wishing to pass our lines one way or the other. We have in some cases been apparently if not really, inconsistent upon this subject—that is, we have forced some to go who wished to stay, and forced others to stay who wished to go. Suppose we allow all females with ungrown children of either sex to go South, if they desire, upon absolute prohibition against returning during the war; and all to come North upon the

same condition of not returning during the war, and the additional condition of taking the oath.

I wish to mention two special cases, both of which you well remember. The first is that of Yocum. He was unquestionably guilty. No one asking for his pardon pretends the contrary. What he did, however, was perfectly lawful only a short while before, and the change making it unlawful had not, even then, been fully accepted in the public mind. It is doubtful whether Yocum did not suppose it was really lawful to return a slave to a loyal owner, though it is certain he did the thing secretly, in the belief that his superiors would not allow it if known to them. But the great point with me is that the severe punishment of five years at hard labor in the penitentiary is not at all necessary to prevent the repetition of the crime by himself or by others. If the offense was one of frequent recurrence, the case would be different; but the case of Yocum is the single instance which has come to my knowledge. I think that for all public purposes, and for all proper purposes, he has suffered enough.

The case of Smithson is troublesome. His wife and children are quartered mostly on our friends, and exciting a great deal of sympathy, which will soon tell against us. What think you of sending him and his family South, holding

the sentence over him to be reënforced if he return during the war?

REMARKS ON CLOSING A SANITARY FAIR IN  
WASHINGTON, March 18, 1864

*Ladies and Gentlemen:* I appear to say but a word. This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldier. For it has been said, all that a man hath will he give for his life; and while all contribute of their substance, the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. The highest merit, then, is due to the soldier.

In this extraordinary war, extraordinary developments have manifested themselves, such as have not been seen in former wars; and amongst these manifestations nothing has been more remarkable than these fairs for the relief of suffering soldiers and their families. And the chief agents in these fairs are the women of America.

I am not accustomed to the use of language of eulogy; I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say, that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during

this war. I will close by saying, God bless the women of America.

LETTER TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 18, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe:* Edward P. Brooks, first lieutenant, Sixth Wisconsin, is a prisoner of war at Richmond. I desire that if practicable, his special release be effected for a rebel prisoner of same rank. Have you one to send, and can you arrange for it at once?

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18, 1864.

*Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas:* Yours of yesterday received and thanks for it. Send further returns when you receive them. Will do my best to protect people and new State government, but can act with no better intentions than have always done. Tell General Steele I have Randolph's pardon, and will send by mail if he says so.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 19, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:* Please find a captain among the rebel prisoners in your charge, and exchange for Captain T.

Ten Eyck, of Eighteenth United States Infantry, now a prisoner at Richmond.

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A COMMITTEE FROM THE WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, March 21, 1864

*Gentlemen of the Committee:* The honorary membership in your association, as generously tendered, is gratefully accepted.

You comprehend, as your address shows, that the existing rebellion means more, and tends to more, than the perpetuation of African slavery—that it is, in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people. Partly to show that this view has not escaped my attention, and partly that I cannot better express myself, I read a passage from the message to Congress in December, 1861:

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage, and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored

arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, nor fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor*, in the structure of the government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers, or what we call slaves. And, further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer, is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital.

Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and, with their capital, hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class — neither work for others, nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States, a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters; while in the Northern, a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men with their families — wives, sons, and daughters — work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand, nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them, but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many indepen-



dent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all — gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty — none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

The views then expressed now remain unchanged, nor have I much to add. None are so deeply interested to resist the present rebellion as the working people. Let them beware of prejudices, working division and hostility among themselves. The most notable feature of a disturbance in your city last summer was the hanging of some working people by other working people. It should never be so. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.

Nor should this lead to a war upon property, or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

\* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

March 22, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Va.:*  
Hon. W. R. Morrison says he has requested you by letter to effect a special exchange of Lieut. Col. A. F. Rogers, of Eightieth Illinois Volunteers, now in Libby Prison, and I shall be glad if you can effect it.

A. LINCOLN.

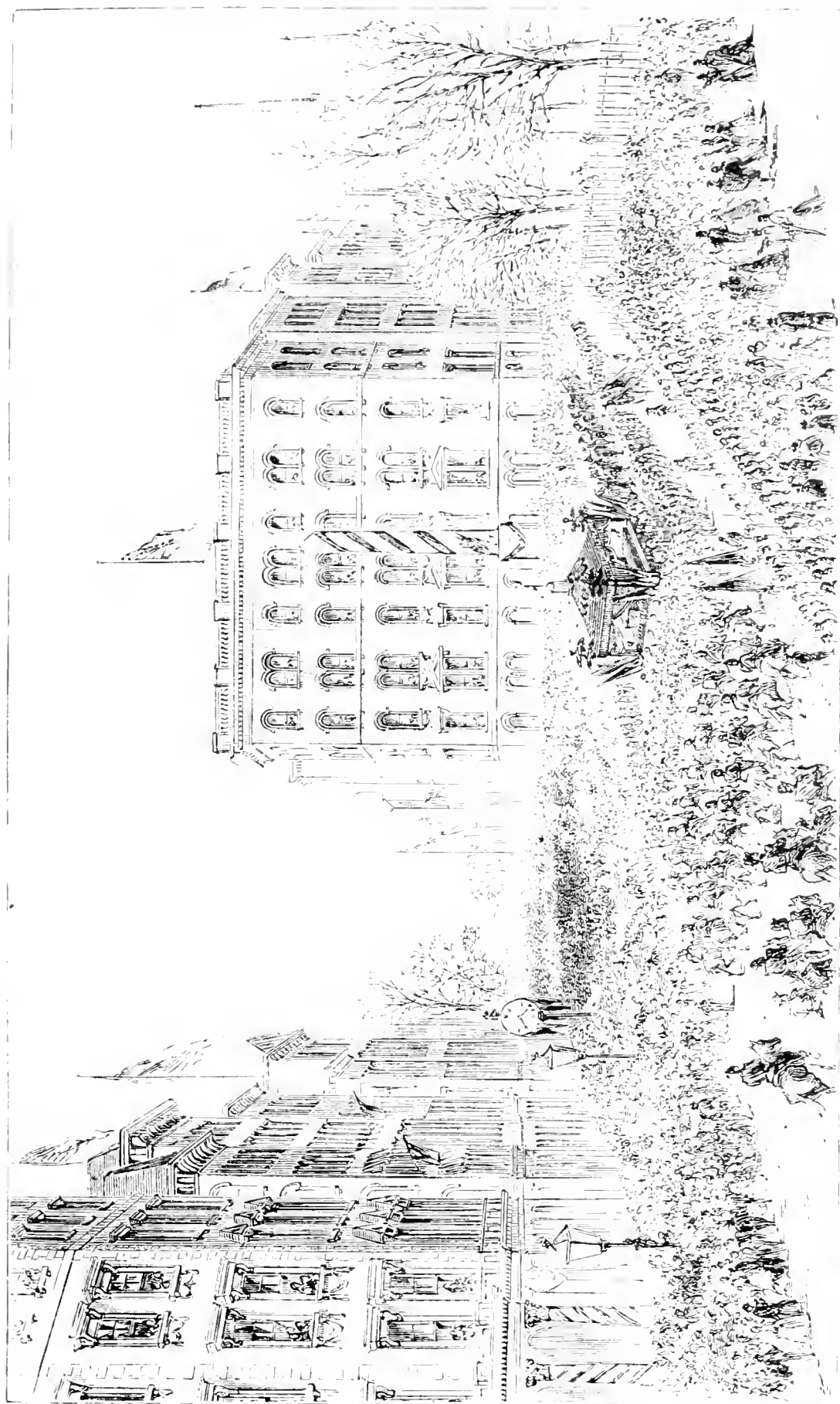
\* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHN EVANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

March 22, 1864.

*Governor Evans, Denver, Col.:* Colorado Enabling Act was signed yesterday by the President.

JNO. G. NICOLAY.



PROCESSION PASSING FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL



CORRESPONDENCE WITH GENERAL C. SCHURZ  
SCHURZ*(Private.)*

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little consequence, because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 23, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* The letter, of which the above is a copy, was sent to you before Mr. Willman saw me, and now yours of the 19th tells me you did not receive it. I do not wish to be more specific about the difficulty of your coming to Washington. I think you can easily conjecture it.

I perceive no objection to your making a po-

litical speech when you are where one is to be made; but quite surely speaking in the North and fighting in the South at the same time are not possible; nor could I be justified to detail any officer to the political campaign during its continuance and then return him to the army.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO THURLOW WEED

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 25, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I have been both pained and surprised recently at learning that you are wounded because a suggestion of yours as to the mode of conducting our national difficulty has not been followed—pained because I very much wish you to have no unpleasant feeling proceeding from me, and surprised, because my impression is that I have seen you since the last message issued, apparently feeling very cheerful and happy. How is this?

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO B. B. FRENCH

(*Private.*)

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 25, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I understand a bill is before Congress by your instigation, for taking your office from the control of the Department of the Interior, and considerably enlarging the pow-

ers and patronage of your office. The proposed change may be right for aught I know, and it certainly is right for Congress to do as it thinks proper in the case. What I wish to say is, that if the change is made, I do not think I can allow you to retain the office; because that would be encouraging officers to be constantly intriguing, to the detriment of the public interest, in order to profit themselves.

Yours truly,  
A. LINCOLN.

PROCLAMATION ABOUT AMNESTY, March  
26, 1864

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

**W**HEREAS it has become necessary to define the cases in which insurgent enemies are entitled to the benefits of the proclamation of the President of the United States, which was made on the eighth day of December, 1863, and the manner in which they shall proceed to avail themselves of those benefits;

And whereas the objects of that proclamation were to suppress the insurrection and to restore the authority of the United States; and whereas the amnesty therein proposed by the President was offered with reference to these objects alone:

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that the said proclamation does not apply to the class of persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits thereof by taking the oath thereby prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement or



custody, or under bonds, or on parole of the civil, military, or naval authorities, or agents of the United States, as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offenses of any kind, either before or after conviction; and that, on the contrary, it does apply only to those persons who, being yet at large and free from any arrest, confinement, or duress, shall voluntarily come forward and take the said oath, with the purpose of restoring peace and establishing the national authority. Prisoners excluded from the amnesty offered in the said proclamation may apply to the President for clemency, like all other offenders, and their applications will receive due consideration.

I do further declare and proclaim that the oath presented in the aforesaid proclamation of the eighth of December, 1863, may be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or any civil or military officer of a State or Territory not in insurrection, who, by the laws thereof, may be qualified for administering oaths. All officers who receive such oaths are hereby authorized to give certificates thereon to the persons respectively by whom they are made, and such officers are hereby required to transmit the original records of such oaths at as early a day as may be convenient, to the De-

partment of State, where they will be deposited and remain in the archives of the government. The Secretary of State will keep a register thereof, and will, on application, in proper cases, issue certificates of such records in the customary form of official certificates.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, the  
twenty-sixth day of March, in the year  
[L. S.] of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

#### LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 28, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* The governor of Kentucky is here, and desires to have the following points definitely fixed:

First. That the quotas of troops furnished, and to be furnished, by Kentucky may be adjusted upon the basis as actually reduced by able-bodied men of hers having gone into the rebel service; and that she be required to fur-

nish no more than her just quotas upon fair adjustment upon such basis.

Second. To whatever extent the enlistment and drafting, one or both, of colored troops may be found necessary within the State, it may be conducted within the law of Congress; and, so far as practicable, free from collateral embarrassments, disorders, and provocations.

• I think these requests of the governor are reasonable; and I shall be obliged if you will give him a full hearing, and do the best you can to effect these objects.

Yours very truly,      A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Your letter to Colonel Townsend, inclosing a slip from the "Herald," and asking a court of inquiry, has been laid before me by the Secretary of War, with the request that I would consider it. It is quite natural that you should feel some sensibility on the subject; yet I am not impressed, nor do I think the country is impressed, with the belief that your honor demands, or the public interest demands, such an inquiry. The country knows that at all events you have done good service; and I believe it agrees with me that it is much better for you to be engaged in trying to do more, than to be

diverted, as you necessarily would be, by a court of inquiry.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, March 29, 1864

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
Mr. Charles B. Stuart, consulting engineer, appointed such by me upon invitation of the governor of New York, according to a law of that State, has made a report upon the proposed improvements to pass gunboats from tide-water to the northern and northwestern lakes, which report is herewith respectfully submitted for your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1864.

*Lieut.-General Grant, Army of the Potomac:*  
Captain Kinney, of whom I spoke to you as desiring to go on your staff, is now in your camp, in company with Mrs. Senator Dixon. Mrs. Grant and I, and some others, agreed last night that I should, by this despatch, kindly call your attention to Captain Kinney.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR JOHNSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, March 29, 1864.

*Governor Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.:* Judge Catron is asking for the discharge of W. M.

Bell, now at Rock Island, and whom he thinks was arrested as a hostage by you or by your authority. What say you? A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO R. M. CORWINE

WAR DEPARTMENT, March 30, 1864.

*Hon. R. M. Corwine, New York:* It does not occur to me that you can present the Smith case any better than you have done. Of this, however, you must judge for yourself.

A. LINCOLN

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS<sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 4, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* This is rather more social than official; containing suggestions rather than orders. I somewhat dread the effect of your Special Order No. 61, dated March 7, 1864. I have found that men who have not even been suspected of disloyalty are very averse to tak-

<sup>1</sup>The military administration of General Rosecrans in Missouri began in January, 1864, under favorable conditions, but although the violent dissensions of the year previous had abated, new difficulties were continually coming up. To quell disloyal influences the General issued an order commanding members of various religious denominations to take an oath of allegiance to the United States before transacting their business. It was resented. President Lincoln deprecated any restraint of this character unless absolutely necessary. Upon complaint he wrote the above mild admonition to Rosecrans.

ing an oath of any sort as a condition to exercising an ordinary right of citizenship. The point will probably be made that while men may, without an oath, assemble in a noisy political meeting, they must take the oath to assemble in a religious meeting. It is said, I know not whether truly, that in some parts of Missouri assassinations are systematically committed upon returned rebels who wish to ground arms and behave themselves. This should not be. Of course I have not heard that you give countenance to or wink at such assassinations. Again, it is complained that the enlistment of negroes is not conducted in as orderly a manner and with as little collateral provocation as it might be. So far you have got along in the Department of the Missouri rather better than I dared to hope, and I congratulate you and myself upon it. Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO A. W. THOMPSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

April 4, 1864.

*Ambrose W. Thompson:* Yours of yesterday is just received. The financial scheme you suggest I shall consider further, but I have not time to form a conclusion which would reach you by the 6th.







I shall be glad to hear from you in Europe as you suggest. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO A. G. HODGES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 4, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said the other day in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally antislavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel, and yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways. And I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment

and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that government—that nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assume this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and Constitution all together. When, early in the war, General Frémont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, be-

cause I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this, I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in our home popular sentiment, none in our white military force—no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men; and we could not have had them without the measure.

“And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms; and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men

from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth."

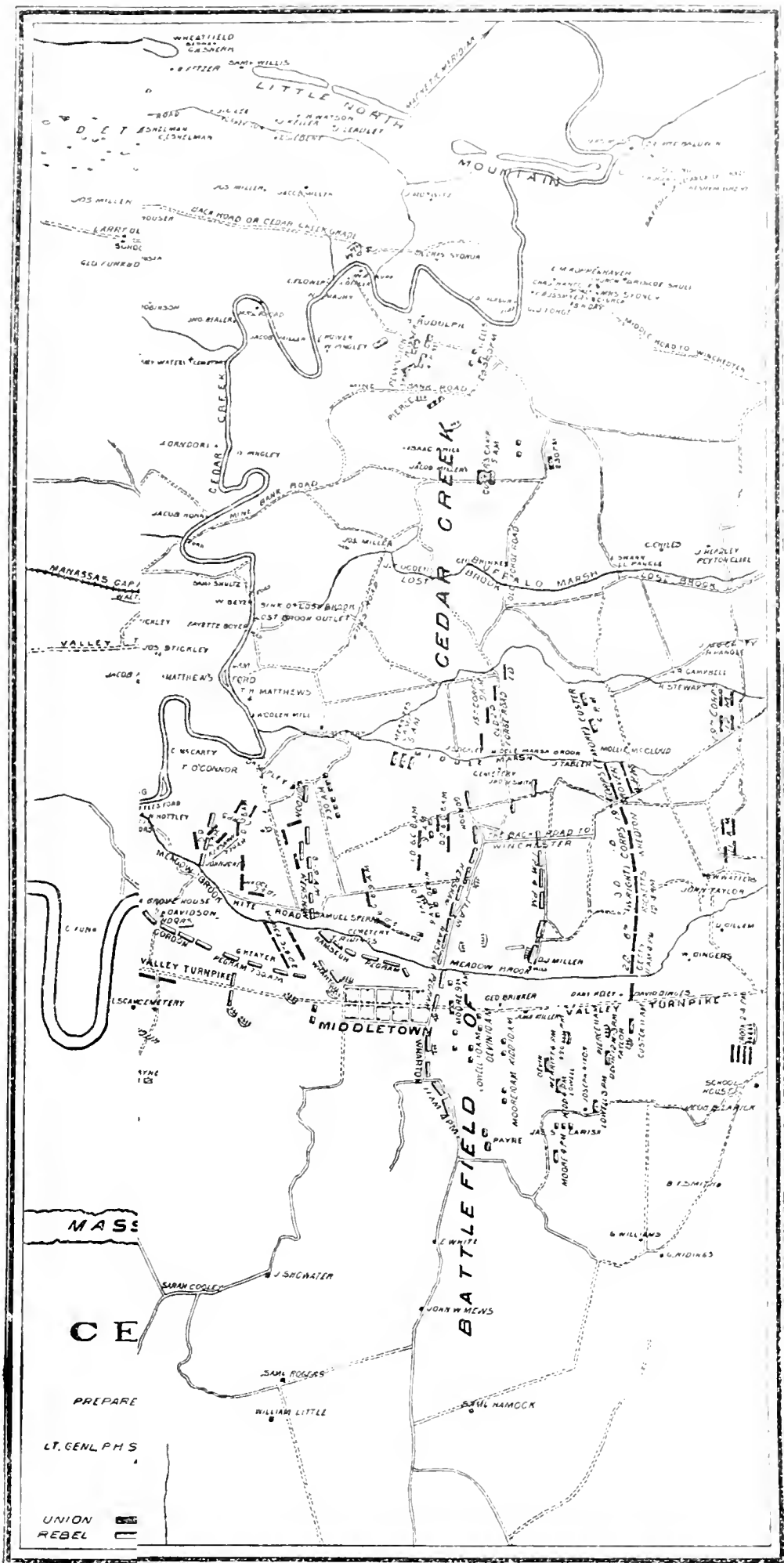
I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now, at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party, or any man, devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God. Yours truly,

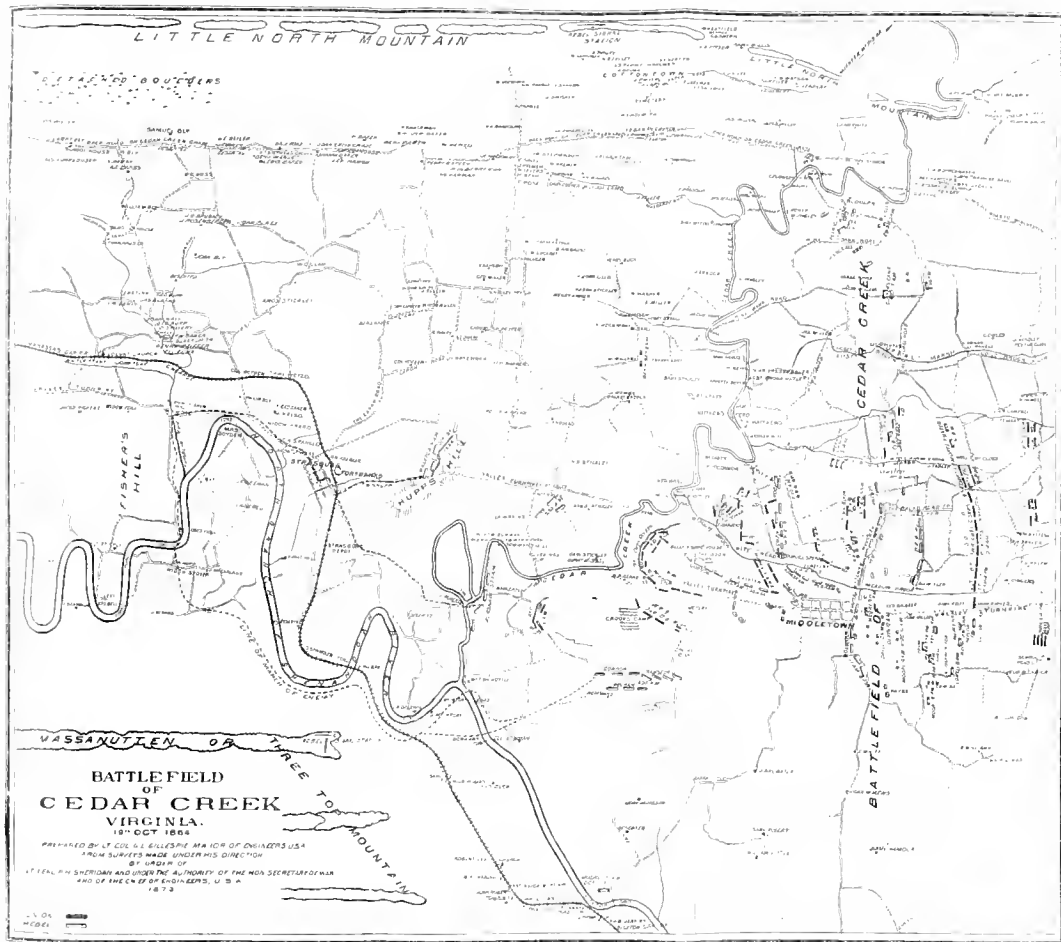
A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO MRS. HORACE MANN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 5, 1864.

*Madam:* The petition of persons under eighteen, praying that I would free all slave children, and the heading of which petition it appears you wrote, was handed me a few days since by Senator Sumner. Please tell these little people I am very glad their young hearts





are so full of just and generous sympathy, and that, while I have not the power to grant all they ask, I trust they will remember that God has, and that, as it seems, he wills to do it.

Yours truly,                   A. LINCOLN.

UNFINISHED DRAFT OF LETTER TO GENERAL  
N. P. BANKS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 5, 1864.

*Major-General Banks:* I have received a letter from General Charles P. Stone, indorsed by yourself, asking that "some act, some word, some order may issue from the executive which shall place my name clear of reproach," etc. Nothing more definite than this is indicated as to what General Stone desires me to do, or supposes I can do in the case. I can only state the facts of the case from memory, and of course not with great minuteness or accuracy. General Stone was arrested, as I now think, early in February, 1862. Owing to sickness in my family, the Secretary of War made the arrest without notifying me that he had it in contemplation. General McClellan was then general-in-chief, with headquarters at Washington, and General Stone was commanding a division twenty-five or thirty miles above on the Potomac. Learning of the arrest I inquired for the cause, and found it or the evidence constituting it to

consist of three classes: First, the evidence taken in writing by the Committee of Congress on the Conduct of the War. The point supposed to be made by this against General Stone was that when before the committee at one time and excusing himself for not having sent a force from one point to another during the battle in which Colonel Baker was killed, he stated that the enemy had a redoubt or dirt fort on the route which could not be passed. Afterward, the committee conceiving that General Stone could have prevented the erection of that fort, and ought to have done so, called him before them again to inquire why he did not, and he then denied that there ever had been a fort at that place. I did not think the evidence, as read to me, made the point conclusively against the general; but that evidence, whatever it is, I suppose is still accessible.

Secondly, evidence taken and put in the form of a report by a detective of General McClellan.

#### TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BROUGH

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 5, 1864.

*Governor Brough, Columbus, O.:* The President has ordered the pardon of the soldiers of the 12th Ohio, in accordance with your request.

JOHN HAY.



## \*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

*(Cipher.)*

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 6, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fortress Monroe, Va.:*

The President directs me to acknowledge receipt of your dispatch of this morning and to say that you will submit by letter or telegram to the Secretary of War the points in relation to the exchange of prisoners wherein you wish instructions, and that it is not necessary for you to visit Washington for the purpose indicated.

JOHN HAY,

Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR DENNISON <sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 7, 1864.

*Hon. Wm. Dennison, Columbus, O.:* The President thinks he cannot safely write that class of letters.

JNO. G. NICOLAY.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 7, 1864.

*Major-General Butler:* Mrs. Lincoln and I think we will visit Fort Monroe some time next week. Meanwhile, whatever is to be done on

<sup>1</sup> In answer to a request to give a cotton-trader a letter of recommendation to military and naval authorities, etc.—N. and H.

the business subject will be conducted through the War Department. Please do not make public our probable visit. A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 9, 1864.

*Major-General Meade, Army of the Potomac:* Suspend execution of Private William Collins, Company B, Sixty-ninth New York Volunteers, Irish Brigade, and class him with other suspended cases. A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. HUNT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 11, 1864.

*Whom it may concern:* I know nothing on the subject of the attached letter except as therein stated. Neither do I personally know Mrs. Hunt. She has, however, from the beginning of the war been constantly represented to me as an open, and somewhat influential, friend of the Union. It has been said to me (I know not whether truly) that her husband is in the rebel army; that she avows her purpose to not live with him again; and that she refused to see him when she had an opportunity during one of John Morgan's raids in Kentucky. I would not offer her, nor any wife, a temptation to a permanent separation from her husband; but if she shall avow that her mind is already inde-

pendently and fully made up to such separation, I shall be glad for the property sought by her letter to be delivered to her upon her taking the oath of December 8, 1863. A. LINCOLN.

#### MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. KEENAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 11, 1864.

If Judge John C. Underwood will say in writing on this sheet that he personally knows Mrs. Keenan, and that he desires her and her little nephew to pass our lines and go to her father in Rockingham, Virginia, I will direct a pass to be given her accordingly.

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAMS TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:* Mrs. Lincoln is so unwell that I now think we will not make the contemplated trip this week. Will notify you in time. Will probably get a boat here, but will accept yours if necessary. Thanks for your kind interest in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 12, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:* I am appealed to in behalf of Charles Crumblin [Crumpton] said to be under sen-

tence of death, to be executed at Norfolk tomorrow. Please ascertain whether there is any ground for a pardon, or even a respite, and answer me.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 13, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Fort Monroe, Virginia:* Yours in regard to Charles Crumpton received. I have no more to say in the case.

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GENERAL L. THOMAS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 13, 1864.

*General:* The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the thirtieth March, and to state in reply that Mr. Lewis has no authorization from him for any such purpose as you mention. He gave to Mr. Lewis a letter introducing him to you, at the request of some very respectable gentlemen from Kentucky, and here his responsibility for Mr. Lewis terminated.

The President does not wish you to be hampered in the execution of your duties by any consideration of the letter given by himself to Mr. Lewis.

I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY,  
Major and A. A. G.

**\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 17, 1864.

*Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:*  
Private William Collins of Company B, of the Sixty-ninth New York Volunteers, has been convicted of desertion, and execution suspended as in numerous other cases. Now Captain O'Neill commanding the regiment, and nearly all its other regimental and company officers, petition for his full pardon and restoration to his company. Is there any good objection?

A. LINCOLN.

ADDRESS AT SANITARY FAIR IN BALTIMORE,  
April 18, 1864

**L**ADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Calling to mind that we are in Baltimore, we cannot fail to note that the world moves. Looking upon these many people assembled here to serve, as they best may, the soldiers of the Union, it occurs at once that three years ago the same soldiers could not so much as pass through Baltimore. The change from then till now is both great and gratifying. Blessings on the brave men who have wrought the change, and the fair women who strive to reward them for it!

But Baltimore suggests more than could happen within Baltimore. The change within Baltimore is part only of a far wider change. When the war began, three years ago, neither party, nor any man, expected it would last till now. Each looked for the end, in some way, long ere to-day. Neither did any anticipate that domestic slavery would be much affected by the war. But here we are; the war has not ended, and slavery has been much affected—how much needs not now to be recounted. So







true is it that man proposes and God disposes.

But we can see the past, though we may not claim to have directed it; and seeing it, in this case, we feel more hopeful and confident for the future.

The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails to-day among us human creatures, even in the North, and all pro-

fessing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty. Recently, as it seems, the people of Maryland have been doing something to define liberty, and thanks to them that, in what they have done, the wolf's dictionary has been repudiated.

It is not very becoming for one in my position to make speeches at great length; but there is another subject upon which I feel that I ought to say a word.

A painful rumor—true, I fear—has reached us of the massacre by the rebel forces at Fort Pillow, in the west end of Tennessee, on the Mississippi River, of some three hundred colored soldiers and white officers, who had just been overpowered by their assailants.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be some anxiety in the public mind whether the government is doing its duty to the colored soldier, and to the service, at this point. At the beginning of the war, and for some time,

<sup>1</sup> Reference here is made to an exaggerated report from General Forrest, a Confederate cavalry officer, who declared that on April 12, 1864, at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, he had stormed and captured it, killing five hundred. The majority of the killed were colored soldiers. The Fort Pillow affair is the worst on record of deliberate massacre of negro troops during the war. President Lincoln did not use any retaliatory measures.

the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change of purpose was wrought I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty I resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and in my final account to God. Having determined to use the negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier. The difficulty is not in stating the principle, but in practically applying it. It is a mistake to suppose the government is indifferent to this matter, or is not doing the best it can in regard to it. We do not to-day know that a colored soldier, or white officer commanding colored soldiers, has been massacred by the rebels when made a prisoner. We fear it,—believe it, I may say,—but we do not know it. To take the life of one of their prisoners on the assumption that they murder ours, when it is short of certainty that they do murder ours, might be too serious, too cruel, a mistake. We are having the Fort Pillow affair thoroughly investigated; and such investigation will probably show conclusively how the truth is. If after all that has been said it shall turn out that there has been no massacre at Fort Pillow, it will be almost safe to say there has been none, and will

be none, elsewhere. If there has been the massacre of three hundred there, or even the tenth part of three hundred, it will be conclusively proved; and being so proved, the retribution shall as surely come. It will be matter of grave consideration in what exact course to apply the retribution; but in the supposed case it must come.

**\*DESPATCH TO CALVIN TRUESDALE**

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

April 20, 1864.

*Calvin Truesdale, Rock Island, Ill.:* Thomas J. Pickett, late agent of the Quartermaster's Department for the island of Rock Island, has been removed or suspended from that position on a charge of having sold timber and stone from the island for his private benefit.

Mr. Pickett is an old acquaintance and friend of mine, and I will thank you, if you will, to set a day or days and place on and at which to take testimony on the point. Notify Mr. Pickett and one J. B. Danforth (who as I understand makes the charge) to be present with their witnesses. Take the testimony in writing offered by both sides, and report it in full to me. Please do this for me.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## \*TELEGRAMS CONCERNING CHARLES CARPENTER

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 20, 1864.

*Officer in Military Command, at Fort Warren, Mass.:* If there is a man by the name of Charles Carpenter, under sentence of death for desertion, at Fort Warren, suspend execution until further order and send the record of his trial. If sentenced for any other offence, telegraph what it is, and when he is to be executed. Answer at all events.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 21, 1864.

*Officer in Military Command, at Fort Warren, Mass.:* The order I sent yesterday in regard to Charles Carpenter is hereby withdrawn, and you are to act as if it had never existed.

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 21, 1864.

*Major-General Dix, New York:* Yesterday I was induced to telegraph the officer in military command at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass., suspending the execution of Charles Carpenter, to be executed to-morrow for desertion. Just now on reading your order in the case, I telegraphed the same officer withdrawing the suspension, and leaving the case entirely with you. The man's friends are pressing me, but I refer them to you, intending to take no further action myself.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 23, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:* A lady, Mrs. Ward, sister of the late John M. Weimer, is here, saying she is banished from St. Louis, her home, and asking to be allowed to return, on taking the oath and giving bond. It is exclusively with you to decide; but I will thank you to examine the case, and shall be glad if you find it consistent with your views to oblige her. A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON OFFER OF TROOPS, April 23,  
1864

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

I. The governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin offer to the President infantry troops for the approaching campaign as follows:

Ohio .....	30,000
Indiana .....	20,000
Illinois .....	20,000
Iowa .....	10,000
Wisconsin .....	5,000

II. The term of service to be one hundred days, reckoned from the date of muster into the service of the United States, unless sooner discharged.

III. The troops to be mustered into the service of the United States by regiments, when the regiments are filled up, according to regulations, to the min-







imum strength — the regiments to be organized according to the regulations of the War Department. The whole number to be furnished within twenty days from date of notice of the acceptance of this proposition.

IV. The troops to be clothed, armed, equipped, subsisted, transported, and paid as other United States infantry volunteers, and to serve in fortifications, or wherever their services may be required, within or without their respective States.

V. No bounty to be paid the troops, nor the service charged or credited on any draft.

VI. The draft for three years' service to go on in any State or district where the quota is not filled up; but if any officer or soldier in this special service should be drafted, he shall be credited for the service rendered.

JOHN BROUGH, *Governor of Ohio.*

O. P. MORTON, *Governor of Indiana.*

RICHARD YATES, *Governor of Illinois.*

WILLIAM M. STONE, *Governor of Iowa.*

JAMES T. LEWIS, *Governor of Wisconsin.*

[*Indorsement.*]

The foregoing proposition of the governors is accepted, and the Secretary of War is directed to carry it into execution.

A. LINCOLN.

April 23, 1864.

LETTER TO SECRETARY STANTON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 23, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* According to our understand-

ing with Major-General Frank P. Blair at the time he took his seat in Congress last winter, he now asks to withdraw his resignation as major-general, then tendered, and be sent to the field. Let this be done. Let the order sending him be such as shown me to-day by the Adjutant-General, only dropping from it the names of Maguire and Tompkins. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, April 23, 1864

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the nineteenth instant, from Lord Lyons to the Secretary of State, on the subject of two British naval officers who recently received medical treatment at the naval hospital at Norfolk. The expediency of authorizing Surgeon Solomon Sharp to accept the piece of plate to which the note refers, as an acknowledgment of his services, is submitted to your consideration.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO JOHN WILLIAMS

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

April 25, 1864.

*John Williams, Springfield, Ill.:* Yours of the 15th is just received. Thanks for your kind remembrance. I would accept your offer at

once, were it not that I fear there might be some impropriety in it, though I do not see that there would. I will think of it a while.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 25, 1864.

*Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:*  
A Mr. Corby brought you a note from me at the foot of a petition I believe, in the case of Dawson, to be executed to-day. The record has been examined here, and it shows too strong a case for a pardon or commutation, unless there is something in the poor man's favor outside of the record, which you on the ground may know, but I do not. My note to you only means that if you know of any such thing rendering a suspension of the execution proper, on your own judgment, you are at liberty to suspend it. Otherwise I do not interfere. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MURPHY

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1864.

*Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas:*  
I am much gratified to learn that you got out so large a vote, so nearly all the right way, at the late election; and not less so that your State government, including the legislature, is organized and in good working order. Whatever I can

I will do to protect you; meanwhile you must do your utmost to protect yourselves. Present my greeting to all. A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, April 28, 1864

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives:* I have the honor to transmit herewith an address to the President of the United States, and, through him, to both Houses of Congress, on the condition and wants of the people of East Tennessee, and asking their attention to the necessity of some action on the part of the government for their relief, and which address is presented by a committee of an organization called "The East Tennessee Relief Association." Deeply commiserating the condition of these most loyal and suffering people, I am unprepared to make any specific recommendation for their relief. The military is doing, and will continue to do, the best for them within its power. Their address represents that the construction of direct railroad communication between Knoxville and Cincinnati, by way of central Kentucky, would be of great consequence in the present emergency. It may be remembered that in the annual message of December, 1861, such railroad construction was recommended. I now add that, with the hearty concurrence of Congress, I would yet be

pleased to construct the road, both for the relief of these people and for its continuing military importance.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
April 28, 1864

*To the House of Representatives:* In obedience to the resolution of your honorable body, a copy of which is herewith returned, I have the honor to make the following brief statement, which is believed to contain the information sought:

Prior to and at the meeting of the present Congress, Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, and Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, members elect thereto, by and with the consent of the Senate held commissions from the executive as major-generals in the volunteer army. General Schenck tendered the resignation of his said commission, and took his seat in the House of Representatives, at the assembling thereof, upon the distinct verbal understanding with the Secretary of War and the executive that he might, at any time during the session, at his own pleasure, withdraw said resignation and return to the field.

General Blair was, by temporary assignment of General Sherman, in command of a corps through the battles in front of Chattanooga, and

in the march to the relief of Knoxville, which occurred in the latter days of November and early days of December last, and of course was not present at the assembling of Congress. When he subsequently arrived here, he sought, and was allowed by the Secretary of War and the executive, the same conditions and promise as allowed and made to General Schenck.

General Schenck has not applied to withdraw his resignation; but when General Grant was made lieutenant-general, producing some change of commanders, General Blair sought to be assigned to the command of a corps. This was made known to Generals Grant and Sherman, and assented to by them, and the particular corps for him designated. This was all arranged and understood, as now remembered, so much as a month ago; but the formal withdrawal of General Blair's resignation, and making the order assigning him to the command of the corps, were not consummated at the War Department until last week, perhaps on the 23d of April instant. As a summary of the whole, it may be stated that General Blair holds no military commission or appointment other than as herein stated, and that it is believed he is now acting as major-general upon the assumed validity of the commission herein stated, in connec-

tion with the facts herein stated, and not otherwise.

There are some letters, notes, telegrams, orders, entries, and perhaps other documents, in connection with this subject which it is believed would throw no additional light upon it, but which will be cheerfully furnished if desired.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 28, 1864.

*Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York:* The draft will go to you. Tell Tad the goats and father are very well, especially the goats.

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO J. R. FRY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 30, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I thank you heartily for the kind invitation conveyed in your letter of the twenty-sixth, and sincerely regret that I cannot make a positive engagement to avail myself of it. My time is subject to such constant and unexpected requisitions that I cannot unreservedly accept any such pleasure as that you offer me, at this distance of time.

I shall be most happy to be present at an entertainment which promises so much, especially as it is in aid of so beneficent a charity as that

in which you are interested, if my engagements next week will allow it.

But I must beg that you will make no special arrangements in view of my presence, as I may be disappointed. If I can come I will notify you as early as possible.

Yours very truly,      A. LINCOLN.

### LETTER TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT<sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 30, 1864.

*Lieutenant-General Grant:* Not expecting to see you again before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express in this way my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know. You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our

<sup>1</sup> Grant was put in command of all the armies of the North in March, 1864. Confidence was so great in him that from the first he was allowed to take matters in his own hands. Replying to the above letter from the President, Grant wrote the next day: "From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day, I have never had a cause of complaint. . . . I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is the fault is not with you."



men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there is anything wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO GENERAL S. A. HURLBUT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 2, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* General Farnsworth has just been reading to me from your letter to him of the 26th ultimo. I snatch a moment to say that my friendship and confidence for you remain unabated, but that Generals Grant and Thomas cannot be held to their just responsibilities if they are not allowed to control in the class of cases to which yours belongs.

From one standpoint a court of inquiry is most just, but if your case were my own I would not allow Generals Grant and Sherman [to] be diverted by it just now. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MESSAGE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

May 2, 1864

*To the Honorable the House of Representa-*

*tives:* In compliance with the request contained in your resolution of the 29th ultimo, a copy of which resolution is herewith returned, I have the honor to transmit the following:

. . . . .  
[Correspondence and orders relating to the resignation and reinstatement of Major-General Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri.]  
. . . . .

The foregoing constitutes all sought by the resolutions so far as is remembered or has been found upon diligent search.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE CABINET

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 3, 1864.

*Sir:* It is now quite certain that a large number of our colored soldiers, with their white officers, were by the rebel force massacred after they had surrendered, at the recent capture of Fort Pillow. So much is known, though the evidence is not yet quite ready to be laid before me. Meanwhile I will thank you to prepare, and give me in writing, your opinion as to what course the government should take in the case.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4, 1864.

*Major-General Sherman, Chattanooga, Tenn.:* I have an imploring appeal in behalf of the citizens, who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do consistently with those operations for those suffering people I shall be glad of.

A. LINCOLN.

## \*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 5, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, Saint Louis, Mo.:* The President directs me to inquire whether a day has yet been fixed for the execution of citizen Robert Loudon, and if so what day?

JOHN HAY,

Major and Assistant Adjutant-General.

## MESSAGE TO THE SENATE, May 7, 1864

*To the Senate of the United States:* In compliance with the request contained in a resolution of the Senate, dated April 30, 1864, I herewith transmit to your honorable body a copy of

the opinion by the Attorney-General on the rights of colored persons in the army or volunteer service of the United States, together with the accompanying papers.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

### RECOMMENDATION OF THANKSGIVING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 9, 1864.

*To the Friends of Union and Liberty:*  
Enough is known of army operations within the last five days to claim an especial gratitude to God, while what remains undone demands our most sincere prayers to, and reliance upon, him without whom all human effort is vain. I recommend that all patriots, at their homes, in their places of public worship, and wherever they may be, unite in common thanksgiving and prayer to almighty God.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Gentlemen.

In response to your address, allow  
me to assure they are all  
trial, giveth us the churches.

A. Lincoln

May 18. 1864

Lincoln Letter, May 18, 1864.

Facsimile of the Original Letter to a Delegation from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dated  
May 18, 1864. Now in the Possession of W. H. Harris, New York.

Gentlemen.

In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements; endorse the sentiments it expresses; and thank you, in the nation's name, for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches. I would utter nothing which might, in the least, appear invidious against any. Yet, without this, it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to Heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church—bless all the churches—and blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

A. Lincoln

May 18, 1864

Lincoln Letter, May 18, 1864.

Facsimile of the Original Letter to a Delegation from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dated May 18, 1864. Now in the Possession of W. H. Harris, New York.

## RESPONSE TO A SERENADE, May 9, 1864

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am very much obliged to you for the compliment of this call, though I apprehend it is owing more to the good news received to-day from the army, than to a desire to see me. I am indeed very grateful to the brave men who have been struggling with the enemy in the field, to their noble commanders who have directed them, and especially to our Maker. Our commanders are following up their victories resolutely and successfully. I think, without knowing the particulars of the plans of General Grant, that what has been accomplished is of more importance than at first appears. I believe, I know—and am especially grateful to know—that General Grant has not been jostled in his purposes, that he has made all his points, and to-day he is on his line as he purposed before he moved his armies. I will volunteer to say that I am very glad at what has happened, but there is a great deal still to be done. While we are grateful to all the brave men and officers for the events of the past few days, we should

above all, be very grateful to almighty God, who gives us victory.

There is enough yet before us requiring all loyal men and patriots to perform their share of the labor and follow the example of the modest general at the head of our armies, and sink all personal consideration for the sake of the country. I commend you to keep yourselves in the same tranquil mood that is characteristic of that brave and loyal man. I have said more than I expected when I came before you. Repeating my thanks for this call, I bid you good-by.

\*LETTER TO MRS. S. B. MECONKEY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 9, 1864.

*Madam:* Our mutual friend, Judge Lewis, tells me you do me the honor to inquire for my personal welfare. I have been very anxious for some days in regard to our armies in the field, but am considerably cheered, just now, by favorable news from them. I am sure that you will join me in the hope for their further success; while yourself, and other good mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, do all you and they can, to relieve and comfort the gallant soldiers who compose them. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.



## \*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 10, 1864.

*Major-General Wallace, Baltimore:* Please tell me what is the trouble with Dr. Hawks. Also please ask Bishop Whittington to give me his view of the case.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 11, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:* Complaints are coming to me of disturbances in Carroll, Platte, and Buchanan counties. Please ascertain the truth, correct what is found wrong, and telegraph me.

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO F. B. LOOMIS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 12, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 28th April, in which you offer to replace the present garrison at Fort Trumbull with volunteers, which you propose to raise at your own expense. While it seems inexpedient at this time to accept this proposition on account of the special duties now devolving upon the garrison mentioned, I cannot pass unnoticed such a meritorious instance of individual patriotism. Per-

mit me, for the government, to express my cordial thanks to you for this generous and public-spirited offer, which is worthy of note among the many called forth in these times of national trial. I am very truly, your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO S. C. POMEROY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 12, 1864.

*Sir:* I did not doubt yesterday that you desired to see me about the appointment of assessor in Kansas. I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else. Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL LEW WALLACE

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 13, 1864.

*Major-General Wallace, Baltimore:* I was very anxious to avoid new excitement at places where quiet seemed to be restored; but, after reading and considering your letter and inclosure, I have to say I leave you to act your careful discretion in the matter. The good news this morning, I hope, will have a good effect all round.

A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ABOUT A CHURCH AT MEMPHIS,  
TENNESSEE, May 13, 1864

I believe it is true that with reference to the church within named [at Memphis], I wrote as follows:

If the military have military need of the church building, let them keep it; otherwise, let them go out of it, and leave it and its owners alone, except for causes that justify the arrest of any one.

March 4, 1864.

A. LINCOLN.

I am now told that the military were not in possession of the building, and yet that in pretended execution of the above they, the military, put one set of men out of and another set into the building. This, if true, is most extraordinary. I say again, if there be no military need for the building, leave it alone, neither putting any one in nor out of it, except on finding some one preaching or practising treason, in which case lay hands upon him just as if he were doing the same thing in any other building or in the streets or highways.

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A METHODIST DELEGATION, May 14,  
1864

*Gentlemen:* In response to your address, allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical

statements, indorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is by its greater numbers the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church. Bless all the churches, and blessed be God, who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

INDORSEMENT OF LETTER OF GOVERNOR CARNEY, May 14, 1864

The within letter is, to my mind, so obviously intended as a page for a political record, as to be difficult to answer in a straightforward, businesslike way. The merits of the Kansas people need not to be argued to me. They are just as good as any other loyal and patriotic people, and as such, to the best of my ability I have always treated them, and intend to treat them. It is not my recollection that I said to you Senator Lane would probably oppose raising troops in

1864]

## Reply to Baptists

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Kansas because it would confer patronage upon you. What I did say was, that he would probably oppose it because he and you were in a mood of each opposing whatever the other should propose. I did argue generally, too, that in my opinion there is not a more foolish or demoralizing way of conducting a political rivalry than these fierce and bitter struggles for patronage.

As to your demand that I will accept or reject your proposition to furnish troops, made to me yesterday, I have to say I took the proposition under advisement, in good faith, as I believe you know; that you can withdraw it if you wish; but while it remains before me, I shall neither accept nor reject it until, with reference to the public interest, I shall feel that I am ready.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO A BAPTIST DELEGATION, [May 14,  
1864?]

In the present very responsible position in which I am engaged, I have had great cause of gratitude for the support so unanimously given by all Christian denominations of the country. I have had occasion so frequently to respond to something like this assemblage, that I have said all I had to say. This particular body is, in all respects, as respectable as any that have been

presented to me. The resolutions I have merely heard read, and I therefore beg to be allowed an opportunity to make a short response in writing.

### LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Evening before last two gentlemen called on me and talked so earnestly about financial matters as to set me thinking of them a little more particularly since. And yet only one idea has occurred, which I think worth while even to suggest to you. It is this:

Suppose you change your five per cent. loan to six, allowing the holders of the fives already out to convert them into sixes, upon taking each an equal additional amount at six. You will understand better than I all the reasons *pro* and *con*, among which probably will be the rise of the rate of interest in Europe. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

### TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 18, 1864.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac:* An elderly gentleman, Dr. Winston, is here, saying he is well acquainted with the ground you are on, and trying to get on, and having letters from Governor Morton, Senator

Lane, and one from your father, and asking to be allowed to go to you. Shall we allow him to go to you?

A. LINCOLN.

### ORDER TO GENERAL J. A. DIX

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 18, 1864.

*Major-General Dix, Commanding at New York:* Whereas there has been wickedly and traitorously printed and published this morning in the New York "World" and New York "Journal of Commerce," newspapers printed and published in the city of New York, a false and spurious proclamation, purporting to be signed by the President and to be countersigned by the Secretary of State, which publication is of a treasonable nature designed to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and to the rebels now at war against the government, and their aiders and abettors: you are therefore hereby commanded forthwith to arrest and imprison, in any fort or military prison in your command, the editors, proprietors, and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers, and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of said publication, print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy; and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission

for their offense. You will also take possession, by military force, of the printing establishments of the New York "World" and "Journal of Commerce," and hold the same until further orders, and prevent any further publication therefrom.

A. LINCOLN, President of the United States.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
Secretary of State.

\* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR R. YATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 18, 1864.

*Governor Richard Yates, Springfield, Ill.:* If any such proclamation has appeared, it is a forgery.  
A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL B. F. BUTLER

(*Cipher.*)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1864.

*Major-General Butler, Bermuda Hundred, Va.:* Until receiving your despatch of yesterday, the idea of commissions in the volunteers expiring at the end of three years had not occurred to me. I think no trouble will come of it; and, at all events, I shall take care of it so far as in me lies. As to the major-generalships in the regular army, I think I shall not dispose of another, at least until the combined operations now in progress, under direction of Gen-



eral Grant, and within which yourself and command are included, shall be terminated.

Meanwhile, on behalf of yourself, officers, and men, please accept my hearty thanks for what you and they have so far done.

A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR A. JOHNSON

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 19, 1864.

*Hon. Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Tenn.:* Yours of the 17th was received yesterday. Will write you on the subject within a day or two.

A. LINCOLN.

\* TELEGRAM TO F. SCHMEDDING

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 20, 1864.

*Felix Schmedding, Saint Louis, Mo.:* The pleasure of attending your fair is not within my power.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO A. MACKAY

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 20, 1864.

*Alfred Mackay, St. Louis, Mo.:* Your despatch received. Thanks for your greeting, and congratulations for the successful opening of your fair. Our soldiers are doing well, and must and will be done well by.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR MORTON <sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 21, 1864.

*Governor O. P. Morton:* The getting forward of hundred-day troops to sustain General Sherman's lengthening lines promises much good. Please put your best efforts into the work.

A. LINCOLN.

## \* TELEGRAMS CONCERNING HENRY SACK

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 21, 1864.

*Christiana A. Sack, Baltimore, Md.:* I cannot postpone the execution of a convicted spy on a mere telegraphic dispatch signed with a name I never heard before. General Wallace may give you a pass to see him if he chooses.

A. LINCOLN.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 23, 1864.

*To the Commanding Officer at Fort Monroe:* Is a man named Henry Sack to be executed tomorrow at noon? If so, when was he condemned and for what offense?

A. LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 24, 1864.

*To the Commanding Officer at Fort Monroe, Va.:* Let the execution of Henry Sack be sus-

<sup>1</sup> Same to Governor Yates, Springfield, Illinois; Governor Stone, Davenport, Iowa; Governor Lewis, Madison, Wisconsin.—N. and H.

pended. I have commuted his sentence to imprisonment during the war. A. LINCOLN.

Please send this at once. JOHN HAY.

INDORSEMENT, May 24, 1864

*E. A. Paul:* The [N. Y.] "Times," I believe, is always true to the Union, and therefore should be treated at least as well as any.

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR BROUGH

WASHINGTON CITY, May 24, 1864.

*Governor Brough, Columbus, O.:* Yours to Secretary of War [received] asking for something cheering. We have nothing bad from anywhere. I have just seen a despatch of Grant, of 11 P. M., May 23, on the North Anna and partly across it, which ends as follows: "Everything looks exceedingly favorable for us." We have nothing later from him.

A. LINCOLN.

#### \* TELEGRAM TO GENERAL G. G. MEADE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 25, 1864.

*Major-General Meade, Army of Potomac:* Mr. J. C. Swift wishes a pass from me to follow your army to pick up rags and cast-off clothing. I will give it to him if you say so, otherwise not.

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO I. N. ARNOLD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 25, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* In regard to the order of General Burnside suspending the Chicago "Times," now nearly a year ago, I can only say I was embarrassed with the question between what was due to the military service on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other, and I believe it was the despatch of Senator Trumbull and yourself, added to the proceedings of the meeting which it brought me, that turned the scale in favor of my revoking the order.

I am far from certain to-day that the revocation was not right; and I am very sure the small part you took in it is no just ground to disparage your judgment, much less to impugn your motives. I take it that your devotion to the Union and the administration cannot be questioned by any sincere man. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN

## TELEGRAM TO R. W. THOMPSON

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 27, 1864.

*Hon. R. W. Thompson, Terre Haute, Ind.:* Your letter in relation to General Hunter and your son, just received. If General Hunter should ask to have your son on his staff, the request would be granted; but the general is now



*Geo. H. Thomas*  
*Maj Genl. USA*



actively moving in the field, and is beyond telegraph. I doubt whether the promotion you think of is legally possible. A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO C. A. WALBORN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 28, 1864.

*Hon. C. A. Walborn, Philadelphia, Penn.:*  
Yours received. I have felt constrained to answer repeated invitations to attend the great fair at your city, that I cannot be present at its opening, and that whether I can during its continuance must depend on circumstances.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO DR. IDE AND OTHERS <sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 30, 1864.

In response to the preamble and resolutions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which you did me the honor to present, I can only thank you for thus adding to the effective and almost unanimous support which the Christian communities are so zealously giving to the country and to liberty. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how it could be otherwise with any one professing Christianity, or even having ordinary perceptions of right and wrong. To read in the Bible, as the word of God himself, that "In the

<sup>1</sup> Committee composed of Rev. Dr. Ide, Hon. J. R. Doolittle, and Hon. A. Hubbell.

sweat of *thy* face shalt thou eat bread," and to preach therefrom that, "In the sweat of *other men's* faces shalt thou eat bread," to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity. When brought to my final reckoning, may I have to answer for robbing no man of his goods; yet more tolerable even this, than for robbing one of himself and all that was his. When, a year or two ago, those professedly holy men of the South met in the semblance of prayer and devotion, and, in the name of him who said, "As ye would all men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," appealed to the Christian world to aid them in doing to a whole race of men as they would have no man do unto themselves, to my thinking they contemned and insulted God and his church far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of the earth. The devil's attempt was no more false, and far less hypocritical. But let me forbear, remembering it is also written, "Judge not lest ye be judged." A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO JOHN H. BRYANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 30, 1864.

*My Dear Sir:* Yours of the 14th instant inclosing a card of invitation to a preliminary meeting contemplating the erection of a monument to the memory of Hon. Owen Lovejoy was



duly received. As you anticipate, it will be out of my power to attend. Many of you have known Mr. Lovejoy longer than I have, and are better able than I to do his memory complete justice. My personal acquaintance with him commenced only about ten years ago, since when it has been quite intimate, and every step in it has been one of increasing respect and esteem, ending, with his life, in no less than affection on my part. It can truly be said of him that while he was personally ambitious he bravely endured the obscurity which the unpopularity of his principles imposed, and never accepted official honors until those honors were ready to admit his principles with him. Throughout very heavy and perplexing responsibilities here to the day of his death, it would scarcely wrong any other to say he was my most generous friend.

Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty unselfishly for all men.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO F. A. CONKLING AND OTHERS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 3, 1864.

**G**ENTLEMEN: Your letter inviting me to be present at a mass-meeting of loyal citizens to be held at New York on the fourth instant, for the purpose of expressing gratitude to Lieutenant-General Grant for his signal services, was received yesterday. It is impossible for me to attend.

I approve, nevertheless, whatever may tend to strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies now under his direction. My previous high estimate of General Grant has been maintained and heightened by what has occurred in the remarkable campaign he is now conducting, while the magnitude and difficulty of the task before him do not prove less than I expected. He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns, moving to his and their support.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

INDORSEMENT ON LETTER TO MAJOR JOHN  
HAY, June 6, 1864

EUTAW HOUSE, BALTIMORE, June 5, 1864.

*My dear Major:* Arrived here safely — find quite a number of delegates already in, but have not yet talked much with them.

One of the first men I met was B. C. Cook, who stands at the head of our Illinois delegation, and had quite a long and confidential talk with him. He told me he had thought of going to Washington tomorrow, but seeing me he concluded he could sufficiently post himself.

He premised by telling me that the milk-and-water Lincoln resolution, which was first reported to the Illinois State Convention, was cooked up by a few plotters, to the utter surprise and astonishment of nine-tenths of the Convention, and by only a part of the Committee, and was with the others reported to the Convention when there was but a small attendance, it being late at night, but that the Convention very handsomely repudiated them, and referred them to a new Committee, which introduced and passed others of the right stripe. Cook does not seem to know thoroughly who were at the bottom of the matter. He thinks T—— was the chief manager. M—— is understood to have declared himself opposed to the resolution in Committee, but seems to have contented himself with the mere expression of his dissent, after which he went away without further

active opposition. Strangely enough one or two men have told me that W——, either of his own volition or under the influence of others, was in the scheme. J——, on the contrary, Cook told me, was open and hearty for Lincoln.

Cook says there will be three or four disaffected members in the delegation from Illinois, but that nevertheless the delegation will vote and act as a unit, under the instructions of the Convention and also the will of the large majority of the delegation. He says the delegation will in good faith do everything they can for Lincoln, that is, in arranging the Vice-President, the Committee, Platform, etc., taking his own nomination of course as beyond question.

What transpired at home, and what he has heard from several sources, have made Cook suspicious that Swett may be untrue to Lincoln. One of the straws which led him to this belief is that Swett has telegraphed here urging the Illinois delegation to go for Holt for Vice-President.

I told Cook that I thought Lincoln would not wish even to indicate a preference for Vice-President, as the rival candidates were all friendly to him.

There will be some little trouble in arranging the matter of the contested seats from Missouri. The Radicals seem to have the technical right to be admitted. They threaten to withdraw from the Convention if the Conservatives are also admitted, but promise to abide the action of the Convention if they (the Radicals) obtain the seats. Cook says they intimated to him that they would even promise to vote

for Lincoln in the Convention for the promise of an admission to seats.

Whitelaw Reid is here, and told me this evening that the Radicals conceded Lincoln's renomination, but their present game was to make a very radical platform.

Cook wants to know confidentially whether Swett is all right; whether in urging Holt for Vice-President he reflects the President's wishes; whether the President has any preference, either personally or on the score of policy, or whether he wishes not even to interfere by a confidential indication. Also whether he thinks it would be good policy to give the Radical delegates from Missouri the seats on their promising to vote for him.

Please get this information for me if possible. Write and send your letter by express so that it will reach me by the earliest practicable hour to-morrow (Monday). This will go to you by express by the 7 A. M. train to-morrow, so that you ought to have it by 10 A. M. Address me at Eutaw House.

JOHN G. NICOLAY.

[*Indorsement.*]

Swett is unquestionably all right. Mr. Holt is a good man, but I had not heard or thought of him for Vice-President. Wish not to interfere about Vice-President. Cannot interfere about platform. Convention must judge for itself.

A. LINCOLN.

## MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, June 8, 1864.

*To the Senate and House of Representatives:*  
I have the honor to submit for the consideration of Congress a letter and inclosure from the Secretary of War, with my concurrence in the recommendation therein made.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo.:*  
Yours of to-day received. I am unable to conceive how a message can be less safe by the express than by a staff-officer. If you send a verbal message, the messenger is one additional person let into the secret. . A. LINCOLN.

REPLY TO THE COMMITTEE NOTIFYING PRESIDENT LINCOLN OF RENOMINATION, June 9, 1864<sup>1</sup>

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:* I will neither conceal my gratification nor restrain the expression of my gratitude that the

<sup>1</sup> On June 8, 1864, Lincoln was renominated for President, the State of Illinois presenting his name before the Union Convention. There was little opposition. Secretary Chase was a rival for nomination, also General Fremont. General McClellan was the Democratic candidate. Before election, on Nov. 8, the mind of the country had been in fearful turmoil. Union

Union people, through their convention, in their continued effort to save and advance the nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position. I know no reason to doubt that I shall accept the nomination tendered; and yet perhaps I should not declare definitely before reading and considering what is called the platform. I will say now, however, I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people in revolt, with a hundred days of explicit notice that they could within those days resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institution, and that they could not so resume it afterward, elected to stand out, such amendment of the Constitution as now proposed became a fitting and necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet and cover all cavils. Now the unconditional Union men, North and South, perceive its importance and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty and Union, let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect.

and Confederate victories alternated so sharply and decisively that public opinion was in a maze of perplexity. At one time it looked as though Lincoln might lose the election through the reverses on the field of battle. He thought so himself. However, the Union cause advanced before election day and the result of the electoral votes was, that out of 233 Lincoln received 212.

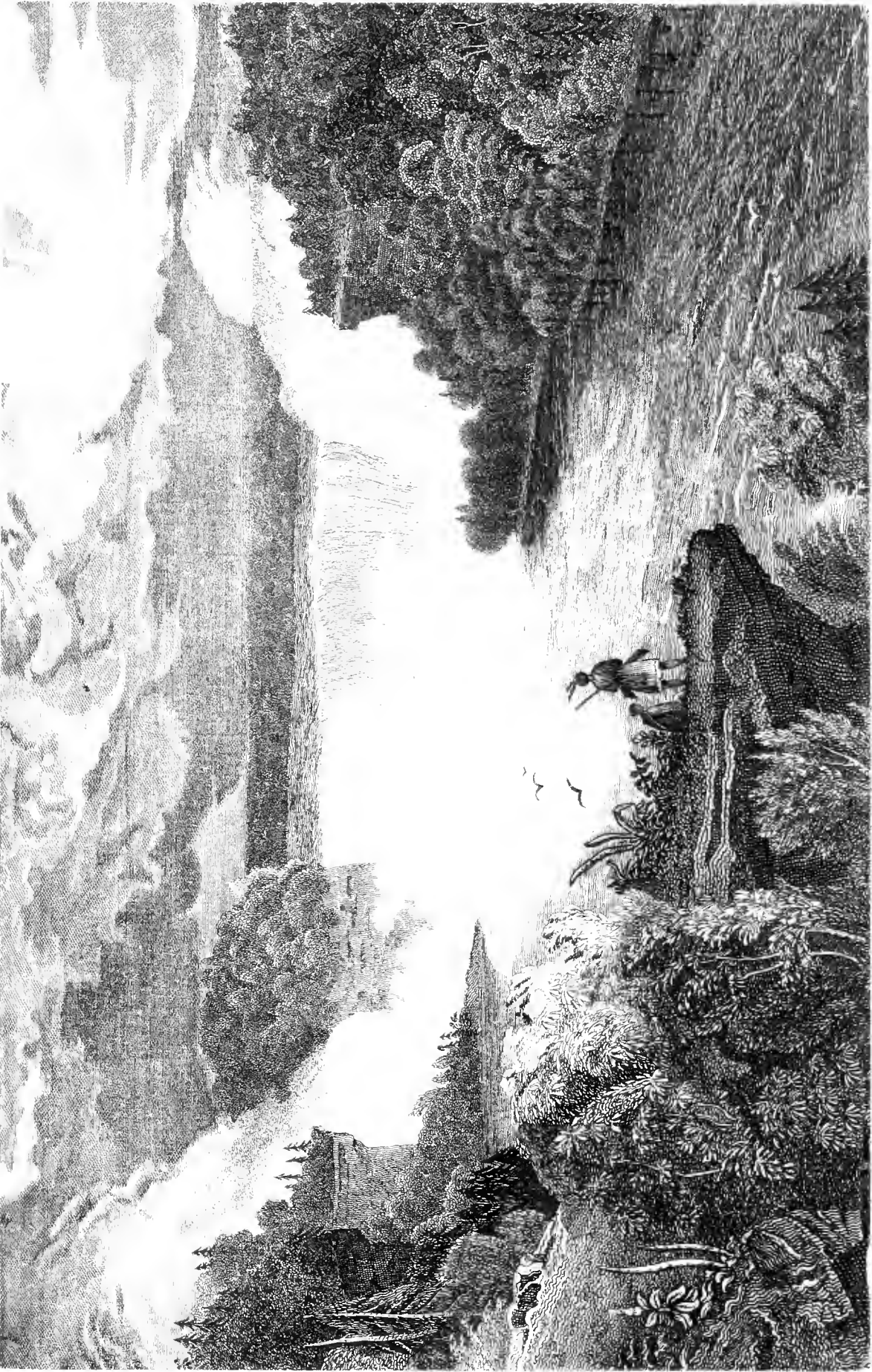
PLATFORM OF THE UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION  
HELD IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, JUNE 7 AND 8,  
1864.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as







it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse

as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the national councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government.

7. *Resolved*, That the government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation: and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

#### REPLY TO AN OHIO DELEGATION, June 9, 1864.

*Gentlemen:* I am very much obliged to you for this compliment. I have just been saying, and will repeat it, that the hardest of all speeches I have to answer is a serenade. I never know what to say on these occasions. I suppose that you have done me this kindness in connection with the action of the Baltimore convention, which has recently taken place, and with which,

of course, I am very well satisfied. What we want, still more than Baltimore conventions or presidential elections, is success under General Grant. I propose that you constantly bear in mind that the support you owe to the brave officers and soldiers in the field is of the very first importance, and we should therefore bend all our energies to that point.

Now, without detaining you any longer, I propose that you help me to close up what I am now saying with three rousing cheers for General Grant and the officers and soldiers under his command.

REPLY TO A DELEGATION FROM THE NATIONAL  
UNION LEAGUE, June 9, 1864

*Gentlemen:* I can only say in response to the kind remarks of your chairman, as I suppose, that I am very grateful for the renewed confidence which has been accorded to me both by the convention and by the National League. I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this, and yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment. That really the convention and the Union League assembled with a higher view—that of taking care of the interests of the country for the present and the great future—and that the part

I am entitled to appropriate as a compliment is only that part which I may lay hold of as being the opinion of the convention and of the League, that I am not entirely unworthy to be intrusted with the place which I have occupied for the last three years. But I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

LETTER TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

June 10, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans:* Major John Hay, the bearer, is one of my private secretaries, to whom please communicate, in writing, or verbally, anything you would think proper to say to me.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

REMARKS TO AN OHIO REGIMENT, June 11,  
1864

Soldiers! I understand you have just come from Ohio—come to help us in this, the na-

tion's day of trial, and also of its hopes. I thank you for your promptness in responding to the call for troops. Your services were never needed more than now. I know not where you are going. You may stay here and take the places of those who will be sent to the front, or you may go there yourselves. Wherever you go, I know you will do your best. Again I thank you. Good-by.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

June 13, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo.:*  
The President directs that the archives and papers of the Belgian consulate, alleged to have been taken from the possession of Mr. Hunt, late Belgian consul, by your provost-marshal, be returned to him, and that no proceedings be had against him without orders from this department; that you release him if he be imprisoned, and that you report by telegraph what proceedings, if any, have been had by your provost-marshal, or any other officer under your command, in reference to Mr. Hunt, or the papers and archives of his consulate, and the grounds or causes of such proceedings.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.



## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL L. THOMAS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 13, 1864.

*Major-General Thomas, Louisville, Ky.:* Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson, our militia are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own consent, and according to no rules whatever, except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided.

A. LINCOLN.

## \*TELEGRAM TO T. WEBSTER

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 13, 1864.

*Thomas Webster, Philadelphia:* Will try to leave here Wednesday afternoon, say at 4 P. M. remain till Thursday afternoon and then return. This subject to events.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL S. G. BURBRIDGE

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1864.

*General Burbridge, Lexington, Ky.:* Have just read your despatch of action at Cynthiana. Please accept my congratulation and thanks for yourself and command.

A. LINCOLN.

## TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1864. 7 A. M.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, Army of the Potomac:* I have just received your despatch of 1 P. M. yesterday. I begin to see it: you will succeed. God bless you all.

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* The governor of Iowa and some of the members of Congress have [given me] a little embarrassment about the removal of a Mr. Atkinson, in your department, and the appointment to the place of a Mr. Sill, I think. They claim a promise, which I know I never made, except upon the condition that you desired the removal of Atkinson. Please help me a little. If you will write me a note that you do not wish Atkinson removed, that will end the matter. On the contrary, if you do wish him removed, or even are indifferent about it, say so to me, accompanying your note with a nomination for Sill.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

SPEECH AT A SANITARY FAIR IN PHILADELPHIA,  
PA., June 16, 1864

**I** SUPPOSE that this toast was intended to open the way for me to say something.

War, at the best, is terrible, and this war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has deranged business, totally in many localities, and partially in all localities. It has destroyed property and ruined homes; it has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country; it has carried mourning to almost every home, until it can almost be said that the "heavens are hung in black."

Yet the war continues, and several relieving coincidents have accompanied it from the very beginning which have not been known, as I understand, or have any knowledge of, in any former wars in the history of the world. The Sanitary Commission, with all its benevolent labors; the Christian Commission, with all its Christian and benevolent labors; and the various places, arrangements, so to speak, and institutions, have contributed to the comfort and relief

of the soldiers. You have two of these places in this city—the Cooper Shop and Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloons. And lastly, these fairs, which, I believe, began only last August, if I mistake not, in Chicago, then at Boston, at Cincinnati, Brooklyn, New York, and Baltimore, and those at present held at St. Louis, Pittsburg, and Philadelphia. The motive and object that lie at the bottom of all these are most worthy; for, say what you will, after all, the most is due to the soldier who takes his life in his hands and goes to fight the battles of his country. In what is contributed to his comfort when he passes to and fro, and in what is contributed to him when he is sick and wounded, in whatever shape it comes, whether from the fair and tender hand of woman, or from any other source, it is much, very much. But I think that there is still that which is of as much value to him in the continual reminders he sees in the newspapers that while he is absent he is yet remembered by the loved ones at home. Another view of these various institutions, if I may so call them, is worthy of consideration, I think. They are voluntary contributions, given zealously and earnestly, on top of all the disturbances of business, of all the disorders, of all the taxation, and of all the burdens that the war has imposed upon us, giving proof that the national resources are

not at all exhausted, and that the national spirit of patriotism is even firmer and stronger than at the commencement of the war.

It is a pertinent question, often asked in the mind privately, and from one to the other, when is the war to end? Surely I feel as deep an interest in this question as any other can; but I do not wish to name a day, a month, or year, when it is to end. I do not wish to run any risk of seeing the time come without our being ready for the end, for fear of disappointment because the time had come and not the end. We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will end until that time. Speaking of the present campaign, General Grant is reported to have said, "I am going through on this line if it takes all summer." This war has taken three years; it was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the national authority over the whole national domain, and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more.

My friends, I did not know but that I might be called upon to say a few words before I got away from here, but I did not know it was coming just here. I have never been in the habit of

making predictions in regard to the war, but I am almost tempted to make one. If I were to hazard it, it is this: That Grant is this evening, with General Meade and General Hancock, and the brave officers and soldiers with him, in a position from whence he will never be dislodged until Richmond is taken; and I have but one single proposition to put now, and perhaps I can best put it in the form of an interrogative. If I shall discover that General Grant and the noble officers and men under him can be greatly facilitated in their work by a sudden pouring forward of men and assistance, will you give them to me? Are you ready to march? [Cries of "Yes."] Then I say, Stand ready, for I am watching for the chance. I thank you, gentlemen.

LETTER TO LYMAN TRUMBULL.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 17, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours relative to reorganization of a State government for Arkansas, is received. I believe none of the departments have had anything to do with it. All that has been done within the range you mention is embraced in an informal letter and telegraphic correspondence between parties there and myself, copies of which I have already furnished to Mr. Dawes of the House of Representatives for the object corresponding to yours.



MAJ. GEN. F. W.



MAJ. GEN. F. W.



MAJ. GEN. F. W.



MAJ. GEN. F. W.



MAJ. GEN. F. W.



MAJ. GEN. F. W.





It will save labor and oblige me if you will procure him to show you them. I believe you will find mentioned a proclamation of General Steele, no copy of which is with the correspondence. The reason is, I could not find it. If, after reading this, it still would be more satisfactory to you to have copies for yourself, let me know, and I will have them made out as soon as I reasonably can.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

\*RECOMMENDATION OF A NEWSPAPER, June 18,  
1864

The "Journal" paper was always my friend; and, of course its editors the same. If there is any special reason why it should not have a share of the advertising I do not know it.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO C. A. WALBORN

WASHINGTON, June 18, 1864.

*C. A. Walborn, Post Master, Philadelphia:*  
Please come and see me in the next day or two.

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WAR DEPARTMENT, June 19, 1864.

*Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York:* Tad arrived safely and all well.

A. LINCOLN.

DRAFT OF LETTER TO GOVERNOR BROUGH AND  
GENERAL S. P. HEINTZELMAN—Not Sent

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 20, 1864.

*Gov. Brough and Gen. Heintzelman:* Both of you have official responsibility as to the United States military in Ohio, and generally—one in organizing and furnishing, the other in directing, commanding, and forwarding. Consult together freely, watch Vallandigham and others closely, and upon discovering any palpable injury or imminent danger to the military proceeding from him, them, or any of them, arrest all implicated; otherwise do not arrest without further order. Meanwhile report the signs to me from time to time.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

MEMORANDUM OF AN INTERVIEW WITH THE  
POSTMASTER OF PHILADELPHIA, June 20, 1864

What I said to Postmaster of Philadelphia on this day—June 20, 1864:

Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Judge Kelley's re-nomination to Congress.

I am well satisfied with Judge Kelley as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is

that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to do other than as he thinks fit with his.

This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part when a certain other nomination now recently made was being canvassed for.

#### LETTER TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL BATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 24, 1864.

*Sir:* By authority of the Constitution, and moved thereto by the fourth section of the act of Congress, entitled "An act making appropriations for the support of the army for the year ending the thirtieth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and for other purposes, approved June 15, 1864," I require your opinion in writing as to what pay, bounty, and clothing are allowed by law to persons of color who were free on the nineteenth day of April, 1861, and who have been enlisted and mustered into the military service of the United States between the month of December, 1862, and the sixteenth of June, 1864.

Please answer as you would do, on my requirement, if the act of June 15, 1864, had not been

passed, and I will so use your opinion as to satisfy your act. Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 24, 1864.

*Mrs. A. Lincoln, Boston, Mass.:* All well and very warm. Tad and I have been to General Grant's army. Returned yesterday safe and sound.

A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO GENERAL W. S. ROSECRANS

WASHINGTON, June 24, 1864.

*Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Mo.:* Complaint is made to me that General Brown does not do his best to suppress bushwackers. Please ascertain and report to me.

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO THE PAYMASTER-GENERAL

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 25, 1864.

*Paymaster-General:* I am so frequently called on by persons in behalf of paymasters who have already served a long time in the South, for leave to come North, as to induce me to inquire whether there might not, without much inconvenience, be a rule of exchanges which would be fair to all, and keep none so long in an uncongenial climate as to much endanger health.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

## LETTER TO WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 27, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours of the twenty-fifth has just been handed me by the Secretary of the Navy. The tone of the letter, rather than any direct statement in it, impresses me as a complaint that Mr. Henderson should have been removed from office, and arrested; coupled with the single suggestion that he be restored if he shall establish his innocence.

I know absolutely nothing of the case except as follows: Monday last, Mr. Welles came to me with the letter of dismissal already written, saying he thought proper to show it to me before sending it. I asked him the charges, which he stated in a general way. With as much emphasis as I could, I said: "Are you entirely certain of his guilt?" He answered that he was, to which I replied: "Then send the letter."

Whether Mr. Henderson was a supporter of my second nomination, I neither knew nor inquired, nor even thought of. I shall be very glad indeed if he shall, as you anticipate, establish his innocence; or, to state it more strongly and properly, "if the government shall fail to establish his guilt." I believe, however, the man who made the affidavit was of as spotless reputation as Mr. Henderson, until he was ar-

rested on what his friends insist was outrageously insufficient evidence. I know the entire city government of Washington, with many other respectable citizens, appealed to me in his behalf as a greatly injured gentleman.

While the subject is up, may I ask whether the "Evening Post" has not assailed me for supposed too lenient dealing with persons charged with fraud and crime? And that in cases of which the "Post" could know but little of the facts? I shall certainly deal as leniently with Mr. Henderson as I have felt it my duty to deal with others, notwithstanding any newspaper assaults.

Your obedient servant,

A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO WILLIAM DENNISON AND OTHERS  
ACCEPTING THE RENOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 27, 1864.

*Gentlemen:* Your letter of the 14th instant formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the resolutions of the convention, called the platform, are heartily approved. While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republi-

can government upon the western continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the government in relation to the action of France in Mexico, as assumed through the State Department and approved and indorsed by the convention among the measures and acts of the executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable. I am especially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the convention, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

#### LETTERS TO SECRETARY CHASE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 28, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Yours, inclosing a blank nomination for Maunsell B. Field to be assistant treasurer at New York, was received yesterday. I cannot, without much embarrassment, make this appointment, principally because of Senator Morgan's very firm opposition to it. Senator

Harris has not spoken to me on the subject, though I understand he is not averse to the appointment of Mr. Field, nor yet to any one of the three named by Senator Morgan, rather preferring of them, however, Mr. Hillhouse. Governor Morgan tells me he has mentioned the three names to you, to wit: R. M. Blatchford, Dudley S. Gregory, and Thomas Hillhouse. It will really oblige me if you will make choice among these three, or any other man that Senators Morgan and Harris will be satisfied with, and send me a nomination for him.

Yours truly                      A. LINCOLN.

*(Private.)*

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 28, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* When I received your note this forenoon suggesting a verbal conversation in relation to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco, I hesitated, because the difficulty does not, in the main part, lie within the range of a conversation between you and me. As the proverb goes, no man knows so well where the shoe pinches as he who wears it. I do not think Mr. Field a very proper man for the place, but I would trust your judgment and forego this were the greater difficulty out of the way. Much as I personally like Mr. Barney, it has been a great burden to me to retain him in his place when



nearly all our friends in New York were directly or indirectly urging his removal. Then the appointment of Judge Hogeboom to be general appraiser brought me to, and has ever since kept me at, the verge of open revolt. Now the appointment of Mr. Field would precipitate me in it unless Senator Morgan and those feeling as he does, could be brought to concur in it. Strained as I already am at this point, I do not think I can make this appointment in the direction of still greater strain.

The testimonials of Mr. Field, with your accompanying notes, were duly received, and I am now waiting to see your answer from Mr. Cisco.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GENERAL F. STEELE

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1864.

*Major-General Steele:* I understand that Congress declines to admit to seats the persons sent as senators and representatives from Arkansas. These persons apprehend that, in consequence, you may not support the new State government there as you otherwise would. My wish is that you give that government and the people there the same support and protection that you would if the members had been admitted, because in no event, nor in any view of the case, can this do any harm, while it will be the

best you can do toward suppressing the rebellion. Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

\*TELEGRAM TO GENERAL U. S. GRANT

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 29, 1864.

*Lieutenant-General Grant, City Point:* Dr. Worster wishes to visit you with a view of getting your permission to introduce into the army "Harmon's Sandal Sock." Shall I give him a pass for that object? A. LINCOLN.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. LINCOLN

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29, 1864.

*Mrs. A. Lincoln, New York:* All well. Tom is moving things out. A. LINCOLN.

LETTER TO SECRETARY CHASE <sup>1</sup>

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1864.

*My dear Sir:* Your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury sent me yesterday is accepted. Of all I have said in commendation

<sup>1</sup> Ignominious withdrawal from his hopeless contest for the Presidency augmented Secretary Chase's bitterness toward Lincoln. His position in public service became intolerable and he sent in his resignation. He had done so before on more than one occasion and had been persuaded to retract, but this time his resignation came when circumstances would permit of nothing but Lincoln accepting it. Lincoln appointed David Tod, a citizen of Chase's State, but he declined on the ground of ill-health. William P. Fessenden was next nominated for the office and appointed July 1, 1864.

of your ability and fidelity I have nothing to unsay; and yet you and I have reached a point of mutual embarrassment in our official relations which it seems cannot be overcome or longer sustained consistently with the public service.

Your obedient servant,      A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO DAVID TOD

EXECUTIVE MANSION, June 30, 1864.

*Hon. David Tod, Youngstown, Ohio:* I have nominated you to be Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Governor Chase, who has resigned. Please come without a moment's delay.

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO JUDGE S. H. TREAT

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1864.

*Hon. S. H. Treat, Springfield, Ill.:* Please give me a summary of the evidence with your impressions, on the Coles County riot cases. I send the same request to Judge Davis.

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO JOHN L. SCRIPPS

EXECUTIVE MANSION, July 4, 1864.

*Dear Sir:* Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Mr. Arnold's nomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Mr. Arnold as a member of Congress,

and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to [do] other than [as] he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination, now recently made, was being canvassed for.

Yours very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

#### TELEGRAM TO J. W. GARRETT

[WASHINGTON], July 5, 1864.

*J. W. Garrett, President [B. & O. R. R.]*: You say telegraphic communication is reestablished with Sandy Hook. Well, what does Sandy Hook say about operations of enemy and of Sigel during to-day?

A. LINCOLN.

#### LETTER TO GOVERNOR SEYMOUR

WAR DEPARTMENT, July 5, 1864.

*Hon. Horatio Seymour*: The President directs me to inform you that a rebel force, variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand men, have invaded the State of Maryland, and have taken Martinsburg and Harper's

Ferry, and are threatening other points; that the public safety requires him to call upon the State executives for a militia force to repel this invasion. He therefore directs me to call on you for a militia force of 12,000 men from your State to serve not more than one hundred days, and to request that you will with the utmost despatch forward the troops to Washington by rail or steamboat as may be most expeditious.

Please favor me with an answer at your earliest convenience.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

PROCLAMATION SUSPENDING WRIT OF *Habeas*  
*Corpus*, July 5, 1864

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA:

*A Proclamation.*

**W**HEREAS, by a proclamation which was issued on the fifteenth day of April, 1861, the President of the United States announced and declared that the laws of the United States had been for some time past, and then were, opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in certain States herein mentioned, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law;

And whereas, immediately after the issuing of the said proclamation, the land and naval forces of the United States were put into activity to suppress the said insurrection and rebellion;

And whereas the Congress of the United States, by an act approved on the third day of March, 1863, did enact that during the said rebellion the President of the United States, when-

ever in his judgment the public safety may require it, is authorized to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any case throughout the United States, or in any part thereof;

And whereas the said insurrection and rebellion still continue, endangering the existence of the Constitution and government of the United States;

And whereas the military forces of the United States are now actively engaged in suppressing the said insurrection and rebellion in various parts of the States where the said rebellion has been successful in obstructing the laws and public authorities, especially in the States of Virginia and Georgia;

And whereas, on the fifteenth day of September last, the President of the United States duly issued his proclamation, wherein he declared that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should be suspended throughout the United States in the cases where, by the authority of the President of the United States, military, naval, and civil officers of the United States, or any of them, hold persons under their command or in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen, enrolled or drafted or mustered or enlisted in, or belonging to, the land

or naval forces of the United States, or as deserters therefrom, or otherwise amenable to military law or the rules and articles of war, or the rules or regulations prescribed for the military or naval services by authority of the President of the United States, or for resisting a draft or for any other offense against the military or naval services;

And whereas many citizens of the State of Kentucky have joined the forces of the insurgents, and such insurgents have, on several occasions, entered the State of Kentucky in large force, and not without aid and comfort furnished by disaffected and disloyal citizens of the United States residing therein, have not only disturbed the public peace, but have overborne the civil authorities and made flagrant civil war, destroying property and life in various parts of that State;

And whereas it has been made known to the President of the United States by the officers commanding the national armies, that combinations have been formed in the said State of Kentucky with a purpose of inciting rebel forces to renew the said operations of civil war within the said State, and thereby to embarrass the United States armies now operating in the said States of Virginia and Georgia, and even to endanger their safety:



Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws, do hereby declare that, in my judgment, the public safety especially requires that the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, so proclaimed in the said proclamation of the fifteenth of September, 1863, be made effectual and be duly enforced in and throughout the said State of Kentucky, and that martial law be for the present established therein. I do, therefore, hereby require of the military officers in the said State that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* be effectually suspended within the said State according to the aforesaid proclamation, and that martial law be established therein, to take effect from the date of this proclamation, the said suspension and establishment of martial law to continue until this proclamation shall be revoked or modified, but not beyond the period when the said rebellion shall have been suppressed or come to an end. And I do hereby require and command, as well all military officers as all civil officers and authorities existing or found within the said State of Kentucky, to take notice of this proclamation, and to give full effect to the same.

The martial law herein proclaimed, and the things in that respect herein ordered, will not

be deemed or taken to interfere with the holding of lawful elections, or with the proceedings of the constitutional legislature of Kentucky, or with the administration of justice in the courts of law existing therein between the citizens of the United States in suits or proceedings which do not affect the military operations or the constituted authorities of the government of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this fifth day of July, in the year of our [L. S.] Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President: WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

INDORSEMENT ABOUT MEMPHIS CHURCH, July 5, 1864<sup>1</sup>

The President declines making any further order in the case of the Presbyterian Church in Memphis.

<sup>1</sup> The military had taken possession of the church and had apparently refused to obey the President's order to give it up. The indorsement was in effect a peremptory requirement to do so.

















